

FRAGIST

August, 1920

Tennessee's
Ratification
Vote
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the
Party Platforms



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National Woman's Party

(Incorporated 1918)

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SUFFRAGIST

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FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL.....Editor
ELEANOR TAYLOR MARSH.....Assistant
ALICE HENRY.....Book Reviews
NINA E. ALLENDER.....Cartoonist

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

THE suffrage planks in the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties offer a test of the sincerity of the parties and platforms.

This one alone, of all the planks, can be carried out immediately. Failure to carry it out before the elections would leave little reason to hope for the enactment of the other provisions of the platforms after the elections.

Tennessee offers the first opportunity to the two parties to prove the sincerity of their stand in favor of suffrage.

A strong vote for suffrage in Tennessee is the one opportunity which the Republicans possess to redeem their record of obstruction in Vermont and Connecticut and prevent the Democrats from winning the full credit for giving the 36th state and enfranchising women in time for the 1920 elections.

Under the favorable situation for ratification presented in Tennessee, defeat of the amendment would be interpreted as deliberate or as due to sheer carelessness on the part of the political parties.

The Presidential candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties have announced themselves for ratification.

The present Governor of Tennessee, who called the session, and all candidates in the coming gubernatorial election favor the amendment.

The state chairmen and the national committeemen of both parties in Tennessee have endorsed it.

The state conventions of both parties have endorsed it.

The congressional delegation from Tennessee except for two members strongly supports the amendment.

The legislature displayed its friendliness to suffrage last year by passing the presidential suffrage bill.

With presidential suffrage already in force in the state, local problems cannot be additionally complicated by the amendment.

If Tennessee fails to ratify it will not be because Tennessee is not in favor of women voting, but because the national political parties are determined to keep women out of the elections next November.



Drawn for the Suffragist by Nina E. Allender.

Now all together for the 36th



Alice Paul and Governor Cox

The Chance For Ratification



Alice Paul and Senator Harding

THE Republican and Democratic parties are pledged in their platforms to the immediate enfranchisement of women. Their candidates are seeking election on the party platforms and are responsible for their fulfillment. As the chief candidates, the Presidential nominees are chiefly responsible. Upon the earnestness of their demand for favorable action by their parties depends the enfranchisement of women in time for the coming elections.

That, briefly, is the suffrage situation.

Acting upon it, the National Woman's Party has centered its campaign for ratification upon Senator Harding and Governor Cox. Following an interview, reported in the last *SUFFRAGIST*, with Senator Harding in Washington, officers of the Woman's Party, including Alice Paul, chairman, met in Columbus, on July 16, to interview Governor Cox; they remained in Ohio for a week consulting with the national committees of the Republican and Democratic parties, both of which committees met during the week in Columbus, and on July 22, his official notification day, led a national delegation of 200 suffragists to Senator Harding at his home in Marion.

To Governor Cox and the Democrats the Woman's Party pointed out the great opportunity presented in Tennessee to improve the record of their party by giving the decisive state.

To Senator Harding and the Republicans, the possibility and the significance of a solid Republican vote in Tennessee, which, with the number of Democrats now pledged, would give at once a majority in the lower house of the legislature, was emphasized.

These arguments to the party leaders have so far borne this fruit.

Results Among the Democrats

Governor Cox in reply to the delegation of the 16th, asked that a committee of the National Woman's Party be appointed for constant conference with him on the suffrage situation and pledged his support in Tennessee in these definite words:

"I give to you without any reservation the assurance that my time, my strength and my influence will be dedicated to your cause as our combined counsel

might suggest, with a view to procuring a favorable result in Tennessee."

His speech in full is given on another page.

On July 20th, the Democratic National Committee meeting in Columbus, as the first business of the day, passed this resolution which was read by the chairman, Homer S. Cummings:

"As the legislature of Tennessee will be the first to convene since the adoption of the Democratic National Platform, we, the members of the Democratic National Committee, recently elected at the San Francisco Convention, feel justified in calling attention to the suffrage plank in the national party platform and the Tennessee state platform—both urging prompt ratification of the federal suffrage amendment and we urge the Democratic members of the Tennessee legislature to vote favorably on ratification thereby cooperating with us in securing the enfranchisement of women to the end that they may participate in the next national election."

On July 23, Governor Cox met with Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative chairman of the Woman's Party, Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman, and Mrs. James Rector, of Columbus, member of the Advisory Council, members of the committee appointed at the suggestion of Governor Cox for consultation on the ratification campaign, and went over in detail the Tennessee suffrage situation.

Governor Cox stated at this conference that he had already sent three representatives into Tennessee to work for the amendment and expected an immediate report from them. He re-affirmed his intention to work with the utmost vigor to achieve success at the special session. Miss Pollitzer and Miss White also held a conference in Columbus with Mr. George White, newly elected National Democratic Chairman, and received assurances of his desire to co-operate in the Tennessee campaign.

The Republican Response

The Republican National Committee meeting in Columbus on July 21 adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"It is the sense of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee that the Republican members of the Tennessee legislature should be, and they hereby are, most earnestly urged and requested by the committee to vote unanimously for the ratifi-

cation of the woman suffrage amendment in the special session of the Tennessee legislature which is to be called, and the chairman of the Republican National Committee is hereby authorized to communicate this resolution to each Republican member of said legislature."

Senator Harding on July 21st stated in a letter to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt:

"If any of the Republican members of the Tennessee assembly should ask my opinion as to their course I would cordially encourage immediate and favorable action."

On July 22d, Senator Harding expressed his interest in ratification to the delegation of the Woman's Party which interviewed him just before his notification ceremony, and stated that he would reply to their demands in his notification speech.

In that speech, though he devoted much more time to the subject of suffrage than according to the advance copies of his speech he had intended to, he went no further in his assurance of support than "sincere desires" and "earnest hopes." These he expressed in this way:

"The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration and the potent, uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. In so far as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction, I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed State vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.

"Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil, or who have sought in faith and assurance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there.

"And to the great number of noble women who have opposed in conviction this tremendous change in the ancient relation of the sexes as applied to government, I venture to plead that they will accept the full responsibility of enlarged citizenship and give to the best in the Republic their suffrage and support."

On July 23d, the day following the National Woman's Party delegation, Tennessee State Senator John C. Houk, whom the Woman's Party had also interviewed at Marion, wired Senator Harding for advice on the Tennessee suffrage situation. Senator Harding's reply to State Senator Houk was:

"I have your message asking me if I would advise that the Republicans of the Tennessee legislature vote for ratification of the woman's suffrage amendment.

"It is my earnest hope that the Republicans in the Tennessee legislature, acting upon solemn conviction, can see their way clear to give their support to this amendment. I believe in suffrage; our party has indorsed it in our national platform; twenty-nine Republican states have ratified the amendment; but one more is needed to enfranchise every loyal American woman, and it would be gratifying to me personally if the Republican members of the Tennessee legislature accomplished that enfranchisement."

Miss Pollitzer further conferred with Dr. Simeon Fess, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, and secured his promise to co-operate in securing a majority vote in Tennessee.

THE DELEGATION TO GOVERNOR COX

The delegation of the National Woman's Party which met Governor Cox on July 16, in his executive offices in Columbus and secured from him his endorsement of ratification by Tennessee and his assurances of active support in that state, was one of the most impressive ones in the history of the Woman's Party. Among the sixty women were white-haired, pioneer suffragists, and side by side with them were some of the youngest active workers in the movement today.

Alice Paul, who led the delegation and introduced the speakers, first outlined the situation.

"The Democratic Party in its platform stands pledged to the ratification of the suffrage amendment," she said. "Responsibility for the fulfillment of the party's pledge by prompt action rests upon you as the acknowledged leader of the party.

"Twenty-seven million women voters in this country await full enfranchisement. Of these, more than 17,000,000 can already vote in the Presidential elections, but only 7,000,000 are eligible to vote for Congress. These figures indicate the great injustice of the present suffrage situation.

"We have come to lay before you the exact situation in the Democratic states which have not yet acted on the amendment and to urge on behalf of the women of the nation that you exert your unlimited influence to secure ratification at once."

Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman of the Woman's Party then spoke of the political situation in her state.

"Since the way is clear for ratification of the suffrage amendment in Tennessee after the adoption of planks in both the national and state platforms of the Democratic Party, and since Governor Roberts has definitely stated that he will call a special session, it remains only for you, Governor Cox, as the party's Presidential nominee, to impress on Democratic members of the legislature the importance of adherence to the party platform."

Mrs. Crozier French, of Knoxville, one of the pioneers, spoke as a woman whose father, grandfather and great-

GOVERNOR
COX
RECEIVES
THE
NATIONAL
WOMAN'S
PARTY



The interview with Governor Cox in Columbus on July 16th ended cordially. In the first row, left to right are: Miss Mary Brandon, chairman of the Columbus branch of the Woman's Party; Mrs. Harry Bradbury of Columbus; Mrs. James M. Rector of Columbus, member of the Advisory Council of the Woman's Party; Governor Cox; Miss Sarah James of Oshkosh, Wisconsin state secretary of the Woman's Party; Alice Paul, Mrs. A. R. Harmon of Philadelphia, chairman Sixth Congressional District of the Woman's Party; and Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Wilmington, Delaware state chairman of the Woman's Party. In the circle at the left, Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative chairman of the Woman's Party, and Mr. William Jamieson, vice-treasurer of the National Democratic Committee, discussing details of the Democratic campaign in Tennessee.

grandfather had been Democrats, and ended her appeal to Governor Cox with, "are you, through neglect of this opportunity to enfranchise the women of America going to make me consider voting for a Republican?"

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York, in a strong appeal to the Governor declared "that she had inherited the fight for woman suffrage from her mother and grandmother and that she did not wish to pass it on as a heritage to her daughter."

Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative secretary of the Woman's Party, Mrs. Margaret Crahan Jones, of Seattle, Mrs. Bertha Moller, of Minneapolis, secretary of the Minnesota branch, Miss Sarah James, of Oshkosh, secretary of the Wisconsin Branch; Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pennsylvania member of the Advisory Council; and Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Wilmington, Delaware state chairman; set forth other phases of the suffrage situation, while Mrs. James Rector, of Columbus, Ohio, member of the Advisory Council, summarized the delegation's request. She said in part:

"You have a great opportunity, Governor Cox. Not only has this opportunity been given you to enfranchise all the women of the nation by securing a thirty-sixth suffrage state, but the way has been cleared for you. In the one plank of your party's platform which may be carried out before election, you are given the aid of a strong party mandate. You have no unwilling governor obstructing the will

of his party. Governor Roberts has readily acceded to its wishes, has called the special session and already has appointed a ratification committee.

"Your own past record presents no hindrance to the final act, but rather demands it as the culmination of a series of helpful deeds. We, therefore, feel that you can have no hesitancy in crowning that record by the final act of supreme consequence to the nation you would serve, the party which has chosen you as its new leader, and to yourself. Governor Cox, give us the thirty-sixth state."

Very obviously impressed with the importance of the demands of the delegation, Governor Cox replied as follows:

Governor Cox Replies

"I am very obliged to the women of this organization who have honored our state by their presence here. I am wondering, however, whether you do not overestimate the power and influence which I possess, but that is for the future to determine. I have been deeply impressed with several things this afternoon:

"(1) Your whole-hearted interest in this cause.

"(2) The unselfish attitude of those who live in states where the women vote and yet will be content only when the same privilege is granted elsewhere.

"(3) You have learned something many of us men have not and that is to stop talking when you have nothing more worth while to say.

"(4) The gracious temperate spirit which you



Two hundred members of the National Woman's Party filled Senator Harding's lawn with their gay banners while—

have manifested here in the face of circumstances throughout years that have tried your patience.

"It is unnecessary, as Mrs. Rector of Ohio has told you, for me to give any assurance as to what I think about the suffrage cause. That is known. I find nothing in Holy Writ or elsewhere which shows the Almighty ever gave man the right to say that he could vote and women could not. Unless we continue to believe in the Sovereignty of God we might just as well take down the flag of civilization.

"I have heard it said by those who oppose suffrage that it will introduce too much of the element of emotionalism. Reduce this to its essence and you have the belief on the part of the objectors that with women the heart assumes a control over the mind in serious matters. During the war, if we had lost sight of the idealism that guided us we would have failed. We held to it because our emotions were aroused. The brain alone could not have saved us. Having helped to save the democracy of the world women are en-

titled to become a thinking and acting part of it.

"In Ohio we have passed through the experience of discarding the old order and adopting the new. We would have been unable so to do except for the public opinion which the women gave to us at that critical time. They were helpful because they understood what we meant when we discussed changing the fabric of government and weaving into it the threads of humanity. They knew what mothers' pensions were; they had an understanding of the guarantee which was given to every man and woman who went to factory, mill or mine, through the adoption of a workman's compensation law.

"You have heard all this before as to why suffrage should be allowed. You are more interested, I am sure, in our discussing the means of bringing it about. I give to you without any reservations the assurance that my time, my strength and my influence will be dedicated to your cause as our combined counsels might suggest, with a view to procuring a favorable result."



Mrs. James Rector, member of the ratification committee of the Woman's Party, appointed at the request of Governor Cox, consulting with Democratic National Committeeman J. W. Morrow of Oregon, left, and National Committeeman Frank H. Duffy, right.



—the two speakers of the suffrage delegation addressed the Republican Presidential nominee on the campaign porch.

A SECOND APPEAL TO SENATOR HARDING

"The Republican platform endorses ratification of suffrage

"The first test of the platform will come

"When the Tennessee legislature meets in August

"Will the Republicans carry out their platform

"By giving a unanimous Republican vote in Tennessee

"For suffrage?"

In black letters on a white background, this banner carried by two pioneer suffragists, preceded by the official notification band, and followed by 150 members of the National Woman's Party, was borne through the streets of Marion to the steps of Senator Harding's campaign porch, on the morning of his notification-day, July 22.

The first and most colorful event of the day, the long line of women dressed in white with the purple, white and gold insignia and the gleaming banners of the Woman's Party, as it made its way from the suffrage headquarters which had been opened within five blocks of the Harding home, was cheered and applauded lustily. In the procession were many Marion women, friends and neighbors of the nominee. Dr. Harding, the Senator's father, who had already called at the Woman's Party headquarters and expressed his sympathy with the suffrage campaign, stood on the side lines and applauded, calling out: "You are right, ladies; you are right!"

The two pioneers carrying the banner were Mrs. L. Crozier French, of Knoxville, and Mrs. E. C. Green, of Columbus, both over seventy and life-long supporters of suffrage for women. In the line was another sturdy suffragist, eighty-three years old, Mrs. W. H. Moore, of

Marion, who proudly carried a purple, white and gold banner well at the head of the procession.

The delegation filled the lawn. Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, member of the Advisory Council of the Woman's Party and president of the Ohio Republican Women's Club, led the two speakers of the day, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York, also a member of the Advisory Council, and Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman, up the steps of the porch, and introduced them to Senator Harding.

Mrs. Battelle, before presenting Miss White, the first speaker, said:

"As a Republican woman deeply interested in the welfare of the Republican Party and in the election of its presidential nominee as well as in the suffrage cause, I am very glad to introduce this delegation to urge you, Senator Harding, to use your influence in securing a unanimous Republican vote for ratification in the legislature of Tennessee.

"This opportunity not only means a great deal to the suffrage cause but it is an opportunity which, as a Republican, I sincerely hope will be grasped by the Republican Party to make its suffrage record even better than it has been in the past."

Miss White explained the situation in Tennessee.

"Since we talked with you in Washington, Senator Harding," she said, "the entire suffrage situation has changed. Governor Roberts of Tennessee has called a special session for August 9. There are large contingents of both political parties in the Tennessee legislature. The opportunity has come for both parties to aid in securing ratification by a thirty-sixth state.

"We have been to Governor Cox, Democratic presidential nominee, and have secured his promise to urge ratification by members of his party in the Tennessee legislature.

"Many Republican states have ratified the suffrage amendment. Republican legislators in Tennessee voted for the presidential suffrage bill last year. This gave all the women of our state a chance to exercise the franchise. Republican leaders in Tennessee are anxious to have the amendment ratified in that state. We have come to you, as leader of the Republican Party, to ask you to do everything in your power to urge Republicans in the Tennessee legislature to keep faith with the party's platform pledge by giving a unanimous Republican vote in Tennessee August 9."

Mrs. Havemeyer Spoke for the Enfranchised Women

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer concluded the appeal with this argument:

"Senator Harding, I thank you for permitting me to speak in behalf of the National Woman's Party, which has but one platform, the Susan B. Anthony amendment enfranchising all the women of the United States. This amendment has passed both houses of the legislature and has been passed by thirty-five states. We need a thirty-sixth state and it seems as if it were as impossible for us to attain it as it was for the children of Israel to enter the promised land. We know Moses was slow, but when it comes to suffrage, I believe he would have to give the Republican Party time allowance.

"True, the Republican Party has given us more states than the Democratic Party, but they had more states to draw upon, and I recommend your informing yourselves as to the number of Democrats who voted in those Republican states. Also they had twenty-five years in full control and could have given us the franchise at any time, but—they forgot all about it.

"I, as a citizen of the great Empire state and one of the 17,000,000 women voters who, in the coming election, will cast their vote for one candidate or the other, feel I must utter a deep-throated protest against my unenfranchised sisters being used as fodder for any political machine. Realizing as I do, the value of the franchise, I think it unfair for them any longer to be forced to contribute to a government which deprives them of their individual opinion and the sacred privilege of the ballot.

"The great Lincoln would have said to you, 'Men, these women have already thirty-five states to the good. Stop and think what a majority that is to be up against. Are you not foolish to resist the will of thirty-five states, instead of yielding the thirty-sixth one?'

"Fifty-six years ago Abraham Lincoln also wished to pass an amendment. He, too, needed a thirty-sixth state. Did he say, 'I have done



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Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, member of the Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, taking part in the Ohio demonstrations.

enough' or 'I will request someone' or 'I will urge' or 'Someone will weaken'? and, gentlemen, I should think the Republican Party would be anxious about the weakness of some of their members, or 'Ladies, don't bother me, I have done all I could.' No! He said, 'I need another state and I am going to make one,' and he did, and his amendment was ratified—and think of it, gentlemen, the Union lived on stronger and better for the brave act of a brave, just man.

"Senator Harding, will you not urge the men of the Republican Party to do as much for us today and get us that thirty-sixth state? The voting women of America are anxiously and impatiently awaiting the issue in Tennessee. Upon this memorable occasion can you not guarantee us a solid Republican vote in that legislature?"

Mrs. Bertha C. Moller, of Minneapolis, state secretary of the Woman's Party, was marshal of the procession. She was assisted by Dr. Gillette Hayden, of Columbus, Ohio State Chairman; Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore, national organizer; Mrs. James M. Rector, of Columbus, member of the Advisory Council; Miss Anita

Pollitzer, of South Carolina, legislative secretary, and Miss Edith Davis, of Washington, D. C.

Among the members of the deputation to Senator Harding were Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Illinois chairman; Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, of San Antonio, Texas, member of the Advisory Council; Miss Sarah James, Oshkosh, Wis., secretary of the Wisconsin branch; Mrs. Lucia Grimes, of Detroit, legislative secretary of the Michigan branch; Mrs. Estelle Tillman, of Oregon; Mrs. Archibald Harmon, of Philadelphia, congressional district chairman of the Pennsylvania branch; Mrs. Cyrus Mead, of Dayton, Ohio, member of the Advisory Council; Miss Clara Hill, of Norwalk, Conn.; Miss Lucy Branham and Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, of Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Margaret Crahan Jones, of Seattle, Wash.; Mrs. A. O. Dunk, of Detroit; Mrs. Hector Young, Miss Mildred Dickerson and Mrs. Marion McNay, of Marion, Ohio; Mrs. Mary Brite, of Cincinnati, treasurer of the Ohio branch; Miss Louise Graham, of Cleveland, and Miss Alice Paul, national chairman.

The success of this demonstration, as well as that of the delegation to Governor Cox in the preceding week, was the result of unceasing work on the part of the Ohio branch of the Woman's Party, its chairman, Dr. Hayden; the chairman of the Columbus branch, Miss Mary Brandon, and the Ohio member of the Advisory Council, Mrs. James Rector.

The Suffrage Situation in Other States

The emphasis of the Woman's Party campaign has been put upon Tennessee because the legislature of that state, which a year ago granted Presidential suffrage to women, is the next to meet, and therefore offers the next opportunity for ratification.

Georgia, Louisiana, Florida

Of the other Democratic possibilities, Georgia, the only state now in session, has for the second time refused to act favorably on the amendment.

Practical hope of favorable action by Louisiana was removed when the legislature on July 8, in spite of an appeal by Governor Cox, refused by a vote of 52 to 46 to reconsider the ratification resolution and adjourned sine die.

Governor Cox made his appeal in response to a telegram from F. J. Looney, chairman of the Louisiana state central committee, asking for his views on ratification. The Governor's message was:

"I have your wire as chairman of the Democratic state central committee of Louisiana on the subject of the ratification of the suffrage amendment by the general assembly. I can only express my opinion. It is that the legislature owes it as a duty to the Democratic party to ratify at once."

In Florida, the Governor though a supporter of ratification has so far refused to call a session because of his belief that "such action would be useless." A telegram from the Governor to Miss Helen Hunt, state chairman, stated.

"I tried to get this through last session. The same members constitute the legislature now and an extra session would be useless."

As to North Carolina

In North Carolina where a session is called for the 10th of August, how much help can be expected from local leaders is indicated in these recent messages and comments from the Governor. Senator Simmons has declared for ratification, but his influence is offset to a certain extent by the failure of Senator Overman to declare for the amendment.

On June 25 President Wilson wired to Governor Bickett, also to Senator Simmons and Senator Overman:

(Continued on page 179)



Senator Harding listened attentively while Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer made her appeal for a solid Republican vote in Tennessee.

The Tennessee Campaign at Close Range

THAT Tennessee will be the 36th state to ratify the suffrage amendment is a prospect that every day becomes increasingly hopeful. The suffrage issue has been one of the outstanding questions at a time when the entire state is involved in a seething factional contest, and it has been difficult to save the cause from sacrifice in this factional fight. This the National Woman's Party has so far been able to do, because of its indifference and aloofness to local issues, and its single plank platform and single track policy of suffrage first, and nothing else. There are two factions in the state organization of the Democratic Party which are at each other's throats, and there are very few local women who have not some interest in the outcome of the struggle. The Republicans are also an aggressive element in their concentration to break through the Solid South with Tennessee this year. The state is noted for its political storms, and this is the stormiest season it has had for years. Each faction seeks to discount the sincerity of the other on every issue, including suffrage. As between the two factions of Democrats, the Republicans appear to hold the balance of power.

A Political Triangle

For suffragists, therefore, the field is a triangle.

Governor A. H. Roberts, who has served only one term, is seeking endorsement in a primary for nomination by the Democratic Party to succeed himself. He is being opposed for the nomination by W. R. Crabtree of Chattanooga, who has the support of Colonel Luke Lee, one of the most aggressive and picturesque characters in Tennessee politics. Colonel Lee has a suffrage record that dates back to his vote for the amendment in the United States Senate in 1915. Governor Roberts, on the other hand, through his association with Senator Shields in the campaign of 1918, when the National Woman's Party made an effort to "smoke out" Senator Shields, is placed somewhat at a disadvantage when he claims to be a bona fide suffragist. The Roberts forces have shown some resentment at what they claim is Colonel Lee's effort to assume leadership as the champion of ratification at this time. They say that Governor Roberts is as good a suffragist as Colonel Lee; that he is putting his full strength behind the movement, and will be entitled to such credit as will come from its passage. The Lee forces contend that Governor Roberts has been forced to do all that he has done for suffrage, and that he will not do any more than he is forced to do.

Between the two camps of Democrats, the Republicans sit quietly and smile, claiming that they are the deciding factor in the present ratification fight just as they were in the passage of the presidential suffrage bill.

Another feature in the situation is the general impression that Governor Cox, the Democratic nominee for president, who says he is doing all he can for ratification in Tennessee, is inclined to favor Governor Roberts.

For the Republican nomination for governor, one of

the strongest candidates is Jesse Littleton, former mayor of Chattanooga, who has a good suffrage record to his credit. Each faction of the Democrats say that the other faction cannot stand against Littleton in November whether women vote or not, but they may not hold to this position after the primary. At least, it seems that with the women of Tennessee already exercising presidential suffrage either of the parties will be loathe to have fastened upon it the responsibility for the defeat of ratification in this state. Persistent effort has been made by the National Woman's Party to secure pledges from a majority of the members of the Legislature. A movement is on foot to secure a solid vote on the part of the Republicans, and the Woman's Party has detailed Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative secretary, to interview the Republican members.

Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely of Vicksburg, Mississippi, is working in the western end of the state with headquarters at Memphis, where she will be in constant touch with Senator McKellar and Congressman Fisher, who have helped in ratification campaigns in other states. Headquarters have been opened in Nashville on Sixth Avenue within two blocks of the State Capitol. The state chairman and Miss Betty Gram are stationed here, where they will be joined by other workers from National headquarters. Miss Catherine Flanagan is canvassing the legislators in the northeastern section with headquarters at Johnson City.

The depositions to Governor Cox and Senator Harding and the resulting emphasis placed upon the Tennessee situation, together with the resolutions passed by the National Democratic and Republican committees relating to ratification by Tennessee, have done much to arouse interest in the state, and the unwilling members are very much worried. They see the national contest involved in the situation.

Proclamation Still to Come

The proclamation for the session has not been issued, but Governor Roberts has given assurances that it will be issued in plenty of time. There is no special term of notice required by the Tennessee constitution for a special session of the legislature. August 9th, the date he has named, is getting near at hand, and there is a well defined demand upon him to issue the call without further delay. This demand, proceeding from Democratic forces independently of suffrage influences, will probably continue up to the date of his primary on August 5th, unless the proclamation is issued before that time. After that time, the demand probably will still be continued from Republican sources to say nothing of the demands of suffragists. The question would then arise: could Governor Roberts as a Democratic governor afford to delay issuing the call for a session of the legislature in accordance with his promise to do so?

The intensity with which each faction is fighting for supremacy makes the suffrage campaign a most difficult one, and the outcome cannot be foreseen at this time.

Sue S. White,

Tennessee Chairman of the Woman's Party.

With the Antis in Georgia

THE Georgia legislature is different. All the legislatures of the non-ratifying states are "different," but Georgia's is more so. For example it is so anti-suffrage that it has refused to pass a state suffrage bill, that present day favorite of the antis, and there has been all along some doubt as to whether it will pass an enabling act, though without it Georgia women could not vote this fall even if the 36th state ratified, because of the six months registration law in the state.

Ratification is not mentioned in the Georgia legislature—one speaks of state suffrage below the breath. Only the enabling act is talked about in this polite circle, and it is often greeted with a frown. It is unwomanly! As one senator said in a shocked voice, "good domestic women don't talk about such things in Georgia."

The Georgia legislature has its own little ways and customs. It has a president of the senate instead of a lieutenant governor, it has a messenger who alone can arrest the governor instead of a sergeant-at-arms, its members take a "standing" vote sitting down.

The first thing that strikes one on entering the Georgia state house is the display of Confederate flags. They are everywhere, hanging free to the breezes, preserved carefully in glass cases where they shall remain forever says the inscription beneath them, or grouped dust-covered in corners. These flags are symbolic. They explain the Georgia legislature. For in Georgia the Civil War and reconstruction period are not yet over and the past still rules, a sad and bitter past. Because of that past there is a distrust, even a dislike of the federal government.

The legislature now in session in Atlanta is the same one that defeated ratification in 1919 by a senate vote of 39 to 10 and a house vote of 132 to 37. The National Woman's Party struggled heroically against that defeat.

Going to Tell the World

The legislature, eager to go on record against suffrage, failed to do so because the resolutions against ratification passed by the two houses were not concurrent and therefore could not be recorded in the secretary of state's office in Washington. This is a source of real grief to the legislators and this session they intend to tell the world how anti-suffrage they are and have the fact recorded in Washington, too.

The state referendum suffrage bill introduced in the senate last session was not reported out until the first week of this session. The report was "do not pass" and the bill came to a vote the week of June 27. Two votes were taken on the bill; the first vote on a motion of Senator Elders, suffrage floor leader, that the bill be tabled until the end of the session when if the 36th state should have ratified, it be taken from the table and voted on. Senator Elders contended that should the 36th state ratify, Georgia's position would be better if it had passed a state suffrage bill. But the antis, led by Senator Flynt, who was dressed in immaculate white even to his white enameled cane, and who can make an eloquent speech on a motion to adjourn, voted

down this conciliatory measure 23 to 21. The second vote was taken on the report of the committee that the bill "do not pass" and stood 25 to 19 in favor of the report. So Georgia will have none, even of innocuous state suffrage.

A poll of the legislature showing ratification this session to be out of the question, Mrs. Maddox, state chairman for the Woman's Party and her organization, decided to concentrate all effort on the passage of the enabling act. The National Woman's Party has been the only organization pushing this act, which consists of two bills, one giving Georgia women, twenty-one years of age, the right to vote in all regular elections and the other allowing them to vote in all primary elections when the 19th amendment shall have been ratified. The primary bill permits Georgia women to vote in the coming September primary by a provision which avoids the six months' registration law of the state by allowing them to vote in this year's primary by the payment of \$1 poll tax any time before the primary is held and the swearing that they are twenty-one years old.

The enabling act has so far fared better than the state suffrage bill. It was introduced in the senate by Senators Elders, Doris, Pittman and Glenn, the "big four" who fought so hard for ratification last session. It was recommended unanimously to pass by the committee on privileges and elections to which it was referred at the request of Senator Elders. Success in the senate seemed assured from the first since a poll of the senate taken by the National Woman's Party showed twenty-eight senators favorable to the act, and only twenty-six votes are necessary for passage.

The act will go from the senate to the house and be referred to the committee on privileges and elections which now shows a favorable majority. A favorable poll of the house has not yet been secured and much intensive work will be done in that body by Mrs. Maddox and her organization before the vote is taken. Ninety-seven votes are necessary for the passage of the act in the house. The attitude of some of the members may be judged by the fact that on July 14 a resolution commending the action of the Vermont governor in refusing to call a special session for ratification was introduced. Such a resolution introduced in a solidly Democratic legislature which has no love for any New England state, is certainly going pretty far.

Not Yet Defeated

The federal suffrage amendment so overwhelmingly defeated last session has not yet come to a vote this session. The legislature is anxious to pass a concurrent resolution that can be recorded in Washington and the resolution to reject the federal amendment passed by the house last session will probably be voted on in the senate.

The governor, the junior United States senator, Harris, Clark Howell, national Democratic committeeman and editor of the influential *Atlanta Constitution* made famous by Henry Grady, ex-Governor Nat C. Harris and many other prominent people have urged ratification by the present Georgia legislature. Telegrams advising ratifica-

tion have poured in from the National Democratic Convention. But what is a national convention to a Georgia legislature?

Chances for ratification in this state have of course been badly damaged by the bitter opposition of the Hoke Smith-Tom Watson combination which at present seems to control a majority in the state and is bitterly opposed to suffrage in all forms. This group may succeed in preventing even the passage of the enabling act, for it is not anxious to have

Georgia women voting this fall, whatever other women do.

It is still possible to hear a member say on the floor of the Georgia senate that if women would only do their duty and bear the fifteen children or so apiece which they should they wouldn't have time for all this suffrage nonsense. Yet there are a few men in this legislature who are as good suffragists as I have seen anywhere. All honor to them, for they have fought a hard fight!

Anne Calvert Neely,

National Organizer for the Woman's Party.

THE GEORGIA ENABLING ACTS

Granted the Federal amendment is ratified, the women of Georgia will still be barred from the coming elections unless these acts are passed. The regular registration day in Georgia was May 29

AN ACT to be entitled An Act to provide for the voting by women in the State primary elections and for other purposes.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same, That women may vote in all primary elections, under the same conditions, qualifications, requirements and penalties that govern the voting of men in such elections. The payment of poll taxes shall hereafter be required of females the same as is required by law of male citizens.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That the white women of this State are hereby authorized up to September 1, 1920, to appear before the county registrars of their respective counties and, by paying a poll tax and proving themselves twenty-one years old and legal residents of said county, shall have their name placed upon the registration lists of their respective counties and shall be entitled to vote in the primary held on September 8, 1920. The above provision for registration shall only apply to the primary held September 8, 1920. After 1920 the women of this state shall register and qualify for voting in all elections in the same manner and under the same provisions that the male voters of this state now register and qualify.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That this Act shall not take effect and be enforced unless the 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States becomes a part of the said Constitution in the manner and as provided for the promulgation of amendments thereto, in which event this Act shall become and be in full force and effect.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That all laws or parts of laws in conflict with this Act be, and the same are hereby repealed.

AN ACT to be entitled An Act to provide for the voting of women in regular elections in this State, and for other purposes.

Section 1. Be it enacted, by the General Assembly of Georgia, and it is hereby enacted by authority of same, That women may vote in all regular elections, under same conditions, qualifications, requirements and penalties that govern the voting by men in such elections. The payment of poll taxes shall hereafter be required of female as is now required by law of male citizens.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That this Act shall not take effect and be enforced unless the 19th amendment to the Constitution of the United States becomes a part of said Constitution in the manner and as provided for the promulgation of amendments thereto, in which event this Act shall become and be in full force and effect.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act, be and the same are hereby repealed.

Woman's Suffrage In Japan

FOR the first time in the history of Japan, a large body of women have come out openly and unitedly for woman suffrage. Even the most advanced women of Tokyo have hitherto expressed the opinion that it is too early to talk about suffrage, and that reforms within the home were all that could be hoped for at the present time. At its recent convention held in Yokohama, however, the Women's Christian Reform Society voted to include the obtaining of woman suffrage as one of the chief aims of the organization. The society has 84 local chapters and a total membership roll of 3,600, including some of the most influential women of Japan.

"The two objects for which the society was founded over thirty years ago were the crushing of the liquor traffic and the abolition of licensed prostitution," Mrs. Ochimi Kubushiro, secretary of the organization, told me. "We have discovered, through patient effort, that we can accomplish practically nothing without a political weapon. The present agitation for universal suffrage for men has made us feel that the time is ripe for presenting the claims of women."

"For over 2,500 years Japanese women were kept in ignorance regarding their social responsibility. It is time for us to wake up and to take our rightful place in society."

The Case Is Dismissed

Another Attempt to Tie Up Ratification in the Courts by Injunctions Against Issuance of Proclamation Fails

ON JULY 6, a bill was filed in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia seeking injunctions against Secretary of State Colby and Attorney General Palmer, by Charles S. Fairchild, "for himself and on behalf of the members of the American Constitutional League." As against Secretary Colby the aid of the Court was asked to restrain him from proclaiming the suffrage amendment, and as against Attorney General Palmer, to restrain him from enforcing the amendment.

On Tuesday, July 13, the case was argued on the return of the defendants showing cause why they should not be enjoined, and upon their motion to dismiss the bill.

Solicitor General William L. Friereson and United States District Attorney James B. Archer appeared on behalf of the Government, and Everett P. Wheeler for the plaintiff.

After an extended argument by plaintiff's counsel, the court was unconvinced that there was any ground upon which the bill could be sustained and the injunction was denied, without the defendants even having to present an argument. The plaintiffs appealed the case to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals which, however, does not convene until October.

The outcome of this attempt of the anti-suffragists to tie up the suffrage amendment in a court proceeding, exposes the flimsiness of the contentions that they have been constantly urging in an effort to show that the suffrage issue has not reached the point where it can be definitely settled by ratification in one more State.

The grounds upon which the application for an injunction was based, stated briefly, were:

1. That Congress had not the power to submit the amendment.
2. That the legislatures of Missouri and Tennessee had not the power to ratify.
3. That the manner of ratification by the States of New Hampshire and Arkansas was improper, in that ratification was by separate resolutions in the two houses of the legislature.
4. That West Virginia's ratification was invalid because of the violation of its Senate rules.

The bill covers twenty-five printed pages and presents the case from the angle most unfavorable to the amendment.

As to the first contention, that Congress had not the power to submit the amendment, the bill sets out in exhaustive detail, the history of the Constitution and undertakes to show that the amendment to the Constitution is destructive of the Constitution. It quotes Amendments Nine and Ten, which say:

IX. "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

X. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Article V, of the Constitution provides for its amendment by the proposal of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the States. This provision is part of the original Constitution and not an amendment.

In its last analysis, the contention of the anti-suffragists is that Article V is qualified by the ninth and tenth amendments, but that no subsequent amendment can qualify these qualifying amendments, or in any way encroach upon them. In other words, they would give to the ninth and tenth amendments an inviolability which they claim Article V, of the Constitution does not possess.

The inconsistency of such reasoning is apparent to any one, but aside from the illogical conclusion to which the reasoning leads, it is a poor theory of government that would withhold from posterity all right of self-government. The founders of this country were not such poor statesmen or prophets as to intend to leave nothing to be done by other generations. There could not be a more serious violation of the rights of States and the rights of citizens, than for one century to fasten upon another a rigid, unamendable constitution.

The right of Congress to propose an amendment can not be questioned. The same question was raised in the case involving the eighteenth amendment, and fell to the ground.

The question raised as to Missouri is based on the same misconception of the principle of states rights.

Another inconsistent phase of the whole attack is that while making a great hue and cry about states rights, the opponents of suffrage are asking Federal courts to set aside the action of State legislatures on technical matters which the legislatures themselves had the right to determine. The question they raise as to West Virginia's action is that the Senate of that State violated its own rules of conduct, in refusing to seat a member who had resigned.

Justice Bailey, before whom the case was heard, indicated that the action was premature, and that the plaintiffs were not sufficiently concerned to have a standing in court, but in disposing of the case, he did so upon its merits, stating that under recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court there were no grounds upon which a court would be justified in granting the injunctions asked for. "Courts will not go behind the actions of legislatures in ratifying," he said. "Under the decision of the Supreme Court in the prohibition case, legislatures derive their power to ratify from the Federal Constitution, and courts will not examine into their action and uphold State laws that restrict the power derived from the Constitution."

By this decision, disposing of the contention raised by the bill as to the proposed ratification in Tennessee, suffragists now have a judicial expression in support of the other legal opinions that have been given out upholding the power of the present Tennessee legislature to ratify.

The "No Occupation" of Farm Women

THE farmer's daughter won't marry her neighbor's son because she doesn't want to spend her life doing the drudgery that she has seen her mother doing."

In that fact, rather than in any interest in the farm woman as an individual, apparently lies the reason for the survey of 10,000 farm homes just completed by the Department of Agriculture.

This survey which was directed by Florence E. Ward, of the Woman's Section of the Department of Agriculture, brings out vividly and more convincingly than ever before the tremendous waste of woman power on American farms, and the neglect of the farm woman and her peculiar sphere of work.

The farm woman's energy and vitality—true to the best feminist claims and accusations—have been the last thing to be protected on the farm. Now, however, according to Miss Ward, "we have a live agricultural problem in working out the economics of country living in such a way as to conduce to willingness to stay on the farm and help build it up and perhaps the greatest factor in bringing this about will be the healthy, alert and expert home-maker."

A Matter of Economics

It is, therefore, as the home-maker, not as the woman, that the needs of women on the farms are being studied, and those who are studying them feel compelled to point out that the reason is purely an economic one, and that "the interest of the Department of Agriculture and the country in the returns from these studies as to labor, working equipment, and compensations of the farm woman is as practicable and as solidly calculating as is our interest in farm studies regarding labor, machinery, and crop returns, and for the same general reason."

In the United States Census, the farm woman, like other home-makers, has "no occupation," yet she works, Miss Ward's figures show; from eleven to thirteen hours a day, and only fifteen out of a hundred women ever find time for a vacation.

In the course of their eleven to thirteen working hours, they take care of the children, they do the family sewing, they keep in order a house that averages seven rooms, they cook the meals and bake the bread, and make the butter, they wash the dishes and the dairy utensils, they do the family laundering and for all of these, in half of the homes they carry the water from the well. Eighty out of every hundred have lamps to clean and fill, and in winter stoves to tend. More than three-fourths of the poultry flocks are cared for in between times by these women, and on one-fourth of the farms the women help to feed and bed the live stock.

To gather these facts, questionnaires were sent out to 1,000 farm women, and they were followed up by home economic experts, who worked in the various communities under the state agriculture colleges.

It is not hard to imagine the effect that the coming of these questionnaires had upon many of the women on the isolated farms—probably never before had they had reason

to suppose that their work was either of interest or importance to any one off the farm. On many of the returned blanks were penciled comments and the tone of practically all these comments was voiced in the one that said, "I do my work and think nothing about it." Perhaps that is one of the fundamental difficulties of women's work that questionnaires and surveys, annoying as they sometimes are, will help to remedy.

The immediate thing for practical improvement in the work of the farm woman, which the survey points to, is the possibility of applying electric power to the equipment of the home, as it has in a large number of cases already been applied to the field and stable equipment.

To bring about these and other improvements the Department of Agriculture urges a home demonstrator in every rural county in every state. There are now but 292 home demonstrators in thirty-three northern states.

The Child on the Farm

To meet one other great need, that of the farm child and of the farm woman as mother, there must be, it is emphasized, more medical and nursing facilities within easy reach. The average farm home is more than five and one-half miles from the nearest doctor, nearly 12 miles from the nearest nurse and about 14 miles from a hospital.

Except as it demonstrates the lack of care of the mother and child at birth, the report shows little of the conditions of children on farms, though one of the scribbled comments on the questionnaire probably applies to too many homes. It was in answer to the question, "have you any household help," and it said, "my girls, five and six, do light housework."

The trained demonstrators whom the Department of Agriculture wishes to place in every county are employed by federal, state and local funds, the appropriation of which still lies in the hands of the voting power of the country.

"Until women have won the power of the ballot, especial pressure will have to be brought to bear upon the men who have that power, by just such facts as have been compiled in this survey, facts that prove it to be to economic advantage to conserve the energy of the farm-wife and to hold the farm workers to the farm by any method that is proved to be successful," Miss Ward, herself, stated.

"As an out-growth of the Smith-Lever bill much has been accomplished through the State Colleges and State Relations Service. But the schedule of facts upon which to base co-operative plans for rural housewives has been found to be much more limited in scope than is the schedule for the rural farmer.

"It is believed that the survey, just completed by the farm women themselves, in cooperation with home-demonstration agents, is but the first of a series of intensive studies which will from time to time be made, not only to show the needs, but to mark the advancement that is sure to come as the Government colleges and farming people work together on a common program for better agricultural and a richer rural life."

M. C. J.

The Democratic Mind In Convention Assembled Turns To Tennessee

WHILE women demanded many things, and many things were demanded for women, at the Democratic convention meeting in San Francisco, June 28th to July 5th, the National Woman's Party formed the one group devoting its attention solely to the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, national treasurer; Mrs. William Kent, headquarters maintenance chairman, and Miss Betty Gram, organizer, directed the suffrage activities at this second great national convention.

Beginning June 18, on advice from the Washington headquarters, the efforts of Mrs. Baker, in California, were directed to securing the influence of the national Democratic leaders for a special session in Tennessee. It was through the Woman's Party that news first reached the Democratic leaders in San Francisco that the Solicitor General of the United States had rendered an informal opinion that the Supreme Court decision in the Ohio referendum case made ratification by Tennessee legal, and the responsibility for ratification that this placed upon the Democratic Party was constantly emphasized. Local conditions in Tennessee made the calling of a special session by Governor Roberts unlikely. It was the political good fortune of the suffragists, therefore, that just at this time, when national pressure was essential, the controlling influences of the Democratic Party should have been gathered together in one city, accessible to argument, and capable of swift and united action. Telegrams were exchanged between Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party, and Mrs. Baker, almost hourly. Every shift in the situation was thus reported to the Democrats assembled in San Francisco. Their interest and excitement over the opportunity presented to them of their giving the 36th ratification in Tennessee and the danger confronting them should another Democratic state fail to ratify was never allowed to lapse.

At Work Before the Convention

During the days preceding the convention repeated consultations were held with Mr. Homer Cummings, then chairman of the Democratic Party, with Senator McKellar, committee woman Miss Charl Williams, and the delegates from Tennessee, with Mr. Wilbur Marsh, national treasurer of the Party, who worked diligently in the interest of ratification by Tennessee, Mr. Vance McCormick, and other influential men and women, including Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thompson, who secured the cooperation of her father, Champ Clark. Chairman Cummings telegraphed and talked with the Governor of Tennessee over long distance telephone, and members of the National Committee were in telegraphic communication with Secretary Tumulty. On June 26, the Democratic National Committee, through its chairman, Mr. Cummings, sent this telegram to Governor Roberts:

"The Democratic national committee, at its meeting held today, by unanimous vote directed me, as chairman of the committee, to send you the following message:

"We most earnestly emphasize the extreme importance and urgency of an immediate meeting of your state legislators for the purpose of ratifying the proposed nineteenth amendment to the federal constitution. The eyes of millions of women throughout the country are turned toward Tennessee as the one state that can and will enfranchise them prior to the November election by becoming the thirty-sixth state to ratify the suffrage amendment. We trust that for the present all other legislative matters may if necessary be held in abeyance and that you will call an extra session of the legislature of your state for such brief duration as may be required to act, favorably upon the amendment. Tennessee occupies a position of peculiar and pivotal importance and one that enables her to render a service of incalculable value to the women of America. We confidently expect therefore under your leadership and through the action of the legislature of your state the women of the nation may be given the privilege of voting in the coming presidential election."

HOMER S. CUMMINGS,

Chairman Democratic National Committee."

On June 28, the Tennesseese delegation at the convention collectively and individually wired Governor Roberts asking for a special session. On the same day the Governor announced that the session would be called for August 9.

A deputation of voting women, led by the National Woman's Party, and arranged by Miss Gram, was received on July 1, by General Tyson and Senator McKellar, members of the Tennessee delegation, who promised every assistance in their state. Members of the North Carolina delegation also received a suffrage deputation and were urged to exert their influence for favorable action in North Carolina by Miss Gail Laughlin, member of the Woman's Party Advisory Council, who spoke for the enfranchised women of the West and by Mrs. Daniel O'Day, of New York, representing the Eastern voting women.

The Story Behind the Suffrage Plank

In addition to the specific campaign in Tennessee, the Woman's Party worked for an energetic plank in the party platform. According to the account in the *New York Times* of June 28, it was due to Mrs. Baker's efforts that the suffrage plank was what it was. Rumors reached San Francisco that there was some doubt of ratification in Tennessee, and that a special session might still be called in Vermont.

"At this point," the *Times* reports, "had Mrs. Baker followed orthodox political customs she would have gone into hysterics and conferences with a dozen other women to talk and plan and prate as to what was to be done about it.

"She did none of these things. Instead she went quietly to Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who

The Woman's Party at the



Left to right: Miss Gail Laughlin, member of Advisory Board; Mrs. William Ker Thompson, daughter of Champ Clark; Mrs. William Ker Thompson, daughter of Champ Clark; Wiley Person, North Carolina State Representative; John H. Pearson, North Carolina State Representative; John H. Pearson, North Carolina State Representative; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Ratification Chairman; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Ratification Chairman; Miss Aline Smith, of San Francisco.



Left: The Suffrage Plank brought state standards of the suffrage plank. (At right) Mrs. W. G. Brown, one of the great triumphs of the convention in her speech, organizer of the Woman's Party, and Homer S. Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party.

Democratic Convention



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airman; John D. Bellamy, former North Carolina
rancisco; Miss Betty Gram, National Organizer.

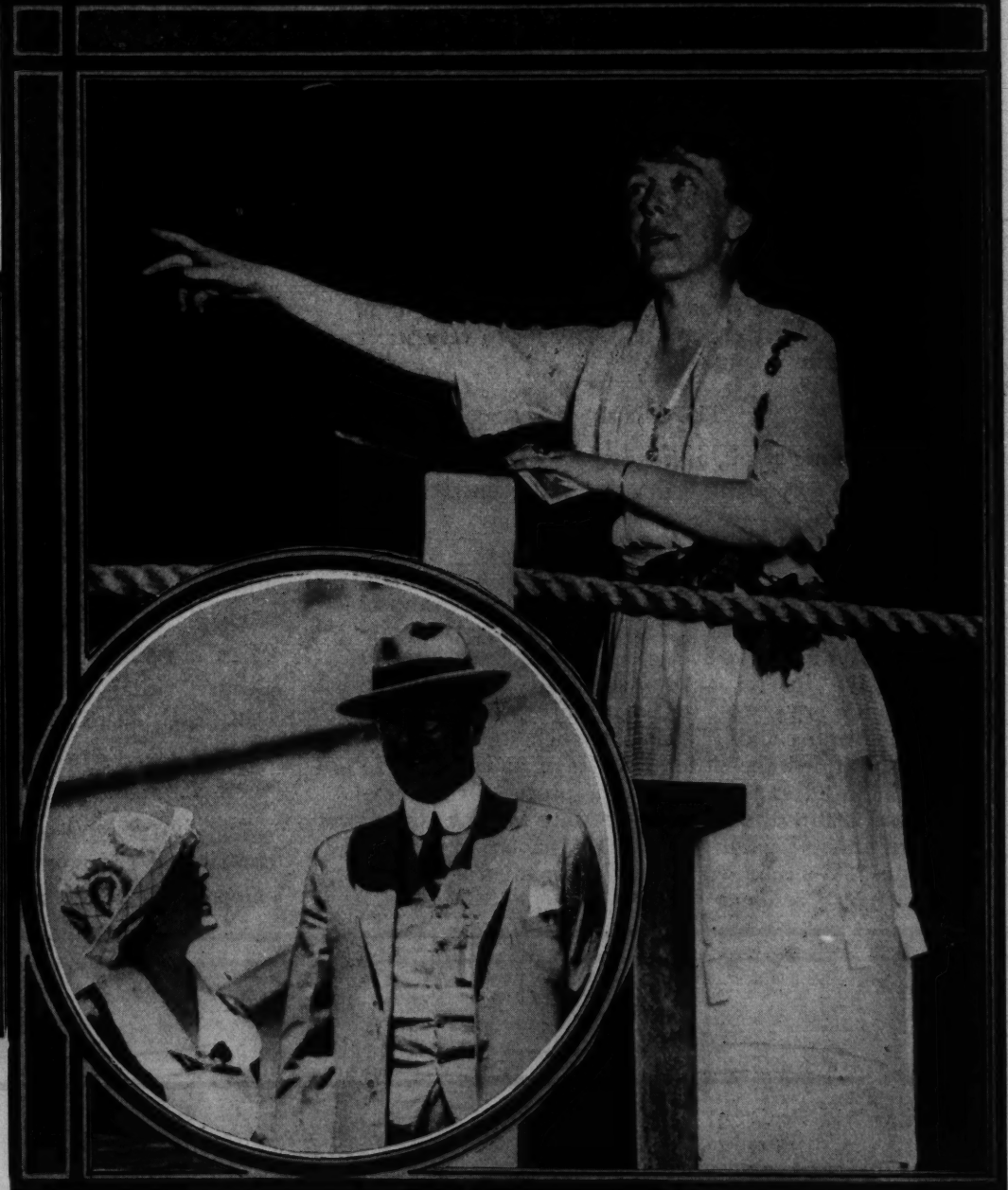


Photo by "International."

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d about the speaker's table. (Above) Mrs. Abby
d Senator Carter Glass, congratulating each other on
Virginia chairman of the Woman's Party, scoring
ch for Ambassador Davis. (Insert) Miss Betty Gram,
ummings, pleased with the way things are going.

holds the President's mandate so far as the platform is concerned. To him she presented her argument, backed by just a dainty feminine hint of a threat to the effect that so long as the National Woman's Party was alive, and it is very much alive in forty-eight states, suffrage was not going to be ignored, and either the Democrats were going to make an earnest and honest effort to deliver that thirty-sixth state or they were going to face the prospects of a wholesale drift of women into a third party, which undoubtedly could be counted upon to make national enfranchisement one of its issues, whatever others might choose as the vehicle to carry it before the country.

"Back came Mrs. Baker to the Palace Hotel, still unhurried and unruffled, and quietly she announced to newspaper men:

"Senator Glass has given me his promise that there will be a suffrage plank in the Democratic platform. It was drawn up in a hurry, but it covers the ground and here it is."

"The typewritten slip Mrs. Baker held out read:

"The Democratic Party indorses the proposed amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women and calls upon all Democratic Governors of states which have not ratified the amendment immediately to convene their legislative bodies so that they may act upon the amendment and urges all Democrats of such legislatures immediately to vote for the amendment to the end that ratification may be speedily completed and women permitted nationally to share in the 1920 elections."

"The significance of the coup can be appreciated readily enough.

"The attitude and actions of the National Woman's Party, as exemplified by Mrs. Baker here, make it obvious that the militant wing of the feminists, with a gift for making themselves nationally heard and felt not always shared by their milder sisters, is not going to rest content with any Tennessee promise, but is going to hold the state and its Governor to very strict and immediate accountability."

The Plank

The Democratic plank, as finally passed, contained all that the Woman's Party plank demanded and even strengthened its phrases. It read:

"We endorse the proposed nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the legislatures of the thirty-five states which have already ratified the federal amendment and we urge the Democratic governors and legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such states as have not yet ratified the federal suffrage amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth state in time for all women of the United States to participate in the fall elections. We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

This plank was greeted by a very remarkable demonstration in the convention hall.

The Suffrage Triumph

Neither any other issue nor the eloquence of any orator called forth the vigorous and spontaneous outburst that did the simple reading of this plank by Senator Carter Glass.

After an instant of silence, there was a rush of state standards to the platform with the Tennessee banner held highest before the chairman's desk. There was singing and shouting, and strange hats of feathers and chiffon were in the air. A few—a very few—states failed to join in; in the riot it was hard to tell which, but a disturbance in the Maryland section drew the spotlight on that state and its refusal to take part.

Eye witnesses say that the absence of the Maryland banner from the demonstration was due—largely—to the opposition of a 7-foot 350-pound member of the delegation who wrapped the banner around himself and sat on it, and to the demands of the newspaper correspondents "is Maryland going to join in?" answered, "Maryland is going to stay right here!" The newspaper correspondents held a separate demonstration around the platform seat of Mrs. Baker, known as "the best news source in San Francisco."

With a seat on the platform of the convention, Mrs. Baker was consulted constantly by the Democratic leaders about suffrage and was able to keep the suffrage issue uppermost in their minds. She and the members of her committee also spoke repeatedly before various groups and interviewed the members of the delegation from the states in which suffrage was still an issue.

Contributions for Tennessee

At the invitation of Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, president of the San Francisco Civic Center, Mrs. Baker spoke at a luncheon given in honor of Mrs. Bass and other Democratic women, warning against over confidence of ratification and the necessity for hard and constant work.

Among the active supporters of the work were Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, of California, member of the Advisory Council, Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thompson, of New Orleans; Miss Miriam Marsh, of Waterloo, Iowa; Miss Josephine Bender, Cedar Rapids, Mich.; Mrs. Sarah Bard Field, of California, member of the National Advisory Council; and Mrs. W. G. Brown, of West Virginia, State Chairman of West Virginia.

During the days of the convention more than \$3,000 was contributed through the Woman's Party committee to the campaign in Tennessee.



Women's Planks in the Party Platforms

IN THIS year's political conventions, women have attained an influence and responsibility hardly contemplated four years ago. Few men put up for nomination failed to have at least one of their seconding speeches made by a woman. Women sat as delegates. They shared in the work of the committees. They finally achieved equal representation in party organization of the Democratic Party and the appointment of seven women to the executive committee of twenty-one members of the Republican Party. In the Farmer-Labor Party, as well as in the Socialist and Prohibition Parties, they have from the beginning enjoyed complete equality.

For the first time, every party platform included unqualified endorsement of the federal suffrage amendment and urged its prompt ratification.

But the exact influence which the women were able to wield can best be judged by considering how many of the planks which they submitted were included in the platforms.

Demands of the League of Women Voters

The National League of Women Voters submitted to the platform committees of both parties planks providing for protection of children through an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau, prohibition of child labor, and a federal program for maternal and infancy care; the reduction of illiteracy through the establishment of a federal department of education, and federal aid where necessary for the removal of illiteracy and the increase of teachers' salaries; increased efficiency in the home and reduction of the cost of living through federal support of vocational training in home economics, such federal supervision of marketing and distribution of food as would tend to equalize lower prices, and such other measures as would open channels of trade, prevent excessive profits, and eliminate unfair competition in the control of the necessities of life; the protection of women in industry and the promotion of women's welfare through an adequate appropriation for a Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the appointment of women in the Mediation and Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor and on industrial commissions and tribunals, the establishment of a federal and state employment service under the direction of educationally qualified women, and reclassification of the Federal Civil Service free from discrimination on the ground of sex, and with a wage scale determined by the skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation; the safeguarding of public health and morals by a continuance of appropriations to carry on a campaign for the prevention of venereal disease and for public education in sex hygiene in line with the effort for the moral protection of the fighting forces during the war; independent citizenship for married women.

Planks of the Democratic Women

The demands of the Democratic women were expressed through fifteen planks drawn up by the Labor Committee of the Women's Bureau of which Mrs. Robert W. Bruère was

chairman. Three of these planks had to do particularly with the protection of women, they read:

We believe that wages should be put on the basis of service, not of sex, and that minimum wages should be fixed which will insure to all wage earners a proper standard of healthy comfort and efficiency.

We advocate the extension and development of the Bureau of Women in Industry in the United States Department of Labor. We urge also the appointment of women on all Government boards and tribunals dealing with industry and labor.

We recommend the protection of motherhood and infancy according to the best modern experience.

A fourth plank provided for the welfare of children in this way:

We insist on the abolition of the labor of children under fourteen years, and that children between fourteen and eighteen shall be permitted to work only after passing examinations by local school and health authorities assuring proper standards of health and education.

Other planks of the Democratic Women's platform affirm the "right of collective bargaining between employers and employees through representatives of their own choosing;" condemn and oppose the "use of the mandatory and prohibitory injunction in labor disputes, and also the treatment of labor as a commodity;" urge the "adoption of the eight-hour day;" urge "government control of the basic industries affecting the necessities of life;" the organization of "labor corps for harvesting, with transportation subsidies to meet the problem of the seasonal requirements of agriculture;" legislation designed "to foster producers' and consumers' coöperative organizations and coöperative credit societies;" "insurance of all workers against accidents, disease, unemployment, and old age;" and the nationalization of the railroads, the creation of a Federal Fuel Commission, and a Federal Steel Commission.

The Republican Response

Aside from the plank endorsing the ratification of the suffrage amendment that is included in each of the platforms, the Republican platform gave space to the following issues of interest to women:

Naturalization—"We advocate in addition the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien resident in the United States."

Women in Industry—"Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We commend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the states and to Congress."

"The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the federal government in which women are employed."

"Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers."

"We demand federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce."

"The Republican party stands for a federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective, we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor."

The plank of "equal pay for equal service throughout all branches of the federal government in which women are employed" falls far short of promising adequate protection to women against discrimination in the civil service, and no mention is made of a measure to provide for an appropriation for maternity and infancy care.

What the Democrats Did for Women

The Democratic platform included these planks in reference to women:

We urge coöperation with the states for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care; in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriation for the children's

bureau and the women's bureau in the Department of Labor. Coöperative federal assistance to the states is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign-born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics; reestablishment of joint federal and state employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests and a reclassification of the federal civil service free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; federal legislation which shall insure that American women resident in the United States, but married to aliens, shall retain their American citizenship and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

Never before have women and their interests received so much space in political platforms; never again in all probability will they receive so little.

Governor Clement Still Declines

ON July 1st, Governor Clement of Vermont, after securing assurances from the Lieutenant Governor of his state that no special session would be called in his absence, ventured to come to Washington to consult with Senator Harding on the suffrage situation and the Republican presidential campaign.

The conference between the New England executive and the presidential nominee of the Republican party lasted during dinner and throughout the evening. A large group of newspaper men, at the suggestion of the Republican press committee, waited while the fate, perhaps of both the suffrage amendment and the Republican party, was being decided.

At 11 o'clock statements which showed the conference had arrived at nothing were issued by Senator Harding and by Governor Clement.

Senator Harding said:

"It gave me an opportunity to say to Governor Clement that I was deeply interested in the final disposition of the question of ratification and I told the Governor frankly that if my advice were wanted I would be glad to see Vermont Republicans close up the great franchise reform. The women throughout the nation are deeply interested in the national campaign and the ratification must be closed soon if they are universally to participate in the Federal election. I would be gratified, of course, to have Republican Vermont close the gap, but Governor Clement understands I was not trespassing on his authority in giving him such an opinion in the course of our conference."

Governor Clement's comment was:

"I have been calling on Senator Harding and we discussed the state of the union agreeably, you

can be sure, and we discussed suffrage ratification by Vermont. Our state Republican convention asked me to call the extra session. Chairman Hays has urged it on behalf of the national convention. Naturally I wanted Senator Harding's views, and he suggested an early call. My reluctance is due to feeling that Vermont prefers to change the fundamental laws very deliberately. We can only change our state constitution by one direct appeal to the people and the favorable action of two legislatures. We are reluctant, therefore, to ratify by a legislature which was elected at a time when suffrage was not an issue."

The National Woman's Party immediately issued a statement to the effect that the result of the conference was entirely "indefinite and unsatisfactory," and it was too late for any party to secure favor with the women by half-hearted measures.

On July 12th Governor Clement reiterated his previous refusal to call a session and gave the statement printed on the opposite page in defense of his position:

The National Woman's Party refused to accept this announcement of Governor Clement as ending the suffrage struggle in Vermont, maintaining that

"No refusal by Governor Clement of Vermont to permit the legislature of his state to act on the suffrage amendment can be accepted as final when it is in direct opposition to the stand of his party and to the pledge of that party's candidate for the presidency.

"The Republicans have still the responsibility of finding a way to secure Governor Clement's support as well as the support of the Republican Governor of Connecticut for their party's platform."

THE GOVERNOR IN HIS OWN DEFENSE

"Under date of June 12, 1919, I received from Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, at Washington, a communication inclosing a certified copy of a resolution of the Congress of the United States of America, entitled 'Joint Resolution Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution, Extending the Right of Suffrage to Women,' with a request that it be submitted to the Legislature of Vermont for such action as may be had.

"I have received requests and petitions from individuals, residing both within and without the State, asking me to call a special session of the Legislature of Vermont to ratify this resolution; and from others not to call a session for that purpose. Numerous political and other organizations have made similar requests. The importance of this matter demands a full presentation of the facts to the voters of the State and a statement of my conclusions.

"The Constitution of Vermont has had the sanction of use and approval for more than 140 years. Careful provision is made in that Constitution to insure extended consideration and deliberation in making changes affecting its provisions and for direct submission to the freemen of the state. The legislature may propose changes, but section 6 of chapter 2 of the Constitution, providing the powers of the legislature, says: 'They shall have no power to add to, alter, abolish or infringe any part of this Constitution.'

Sees Conflict of Laws

"Section 67 of the same chapter declares that this Constitution 'ought not be violated on any pretense whatsoever.' The proposed Nineteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution would in fact, if adopted, make radical changes in the Constitution of Vermont and in our form of government.

"The provision for changes in the Federal Constitution, to which we Vermonters are loyal subscribers, are in conflict with those laid down in the Constitution of Vermont. The Federal Constitution provides that proposals for changes therein shall, if favorable action is taken thereon by the Congress, be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for their action, and the Supreme Court of the United States has in a recent decision, *Hawke vs. Smith*, June 1, 1920, declared:

"The referendum provision of State Constitutions and statutes cannot be applied, consistently with the Constitution of the United States, in the ratification or rejection of amendments to it."

"This decision leaves the people at the mercy of any group of men who may lobby a proposal for a change in the Federal Constitution through Congress and then through the Legislatures of the States.

"In the face of this situation, I am asked to call the Legislature of Vermont into extraordinary session, not for the purpose of debating, considering, deliberating on the question at issue, but with a majority of its members pledged beforehand and in private, as I understand it, to ratify the proposed amendment.

"If the people of Vermont, in accepting a place in the Union of States, inadvertently lost in whole or in part the right of self-government and conferred it on a Legislature, there is all the more reason why a Legislature should not pass upon a question which has arisen since their election and upon which their constituents have had no opportunity to express themselves.

"The people are the supreme governing power of the State, and the legislators under our Constitution are their representatives and responsible to the people, yet it is now proposed that their Legislature take action without the sanction of the people and in direct invasion of their rights.

"For this reason, I am calling to the attention of the voters of Vermont this all important proposed change in our Constitution. It may be forced upon us by the action of other States; nevertheless it is our duty to know what the attitude of our Senators and Representatives is upon this subject and to elect men who represent our wishes.

Free Government Threatened

"Candidates for the Legislature of 1921 should be required to declare their position on this subject without delay.

"It is evident from the reading of the Constitution of Vermont that when the framers of it accepted in 1791 a place in the Union of States that they had no idea that they were signing away liberties which had been boldly proclaimed and zealously guarded up to that time.

"We must now either remodel our own Constitution to conform with the mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States must be amended to provide for a referendum to the freemen of the several states before amendments to that Constitution becomes effective. As it stands and is interpreted by the Supreme Court today, the Federal Constitution threatens the foundation of free popular government.

"The Seventeenth Amendment, providing for a Federal income tax, was lobbied through Congress and the State Legislatures by Federal agents. The Eighteenth Amendment, for Federal Prohibition, was forced through Congress and the State Legislatures by a powerful and irresponsible organization, operating through paid agents with unlimited funds. It is now proposed to force through the Nineteenth Amendment, for Woman Suffrage, in the same manner and also without the sanction of the freemen.

"I have been asked to overlook these considerations, as a matter of party expediency, but this is a matter of principle, not expediency, and the party that invades a well established principle of popular government will suffer in the end.

"Our Constitution was framed to insure our liberties, not to proscribe them. It means what it says. The rights of the people thereunder must be maintained. I will never be a party to any proceeding which proposes to change the organic law of the State without the consent of the people.

"I propose to go and come as my duty calls me, both within and without the State of Vermont, and if any other State officer sees fit, regardless of our fundamental law and his oath to support it, to take action contrary to the terms of this proclamation, he will do so on his own responsibility and be answerable to the freemen of the State."

The Unmarried Mother and Her Child

An Account of the Bill Now Before the British Parliament and an Interview With Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher, Chief Promoter of the Bill

ONE of the first things to which women entering public life have turned their attention is the plight of the unmarried mother and her child. This has been true in various foreign countries, and now in many of our states women are conducting investigations and agitations to improve our illegitimacy laws.

Perhaps the most discussed bill in this line is at present the one before the British Parliament, which has been given the very ugly name of the "Bastardy Bill." It is well known that England has lagged far behind other nations and her own dominions in her attitude toward illegitimate children; there has been no change in the English law for the last half century. At present an illegitimate child in England has no legal father, no legal right to a name; his only legal relative is his mother; if she dies, he is left without a legal connection in the world. There is no possibility of obtaining support from the father unless the mother lives and obtains an affiliation order, and subsequent marriage by the parents does not legitimize a child. The property of an illegitimate person who dies intestate is seized by the state, the mother, however destitute, having no claim whatever.

To take advantage of the kindlier feeling developed in England during the war toward illegitimate children, a group of men and women under the name of the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child has undertaken to secure the passage of a new law. The bill, though it is apparently not supported by the Government, has passed its second reading in the House of Commons with a vote of 117 to 9.

Provisions of the Law

Among the most important provisions of this new law are these: When the birth of a child is registered, the person registering it is required to give the name of the man believed to be the child's father. Within the next few weeks notice is to be served by the proper officials upon the alleged father informing him that his name has been given and requiring him to say whether he admits or denies the paternity of the child. If the paternity is admitted and the father makes an offer providing for the maintenance of his child, the collecting officer submits the offer to two justices of the peace for them to approve of it. If the offer is considered sufficient, the justices make an order confirming it, and the matter is settled there and then without bringing anybody into court and without any publicity whatever. If the alleged father denies paternity, a summons may be secured from a justice of the peace upon the presentation of evidence to sustain a *prima facie* case of paternity. If the paternity of the child cannot be proved to the satisfaction of the court, or where for any reason an order cannot be obtained from the court, the justice of the peace has the power

to issue an order providing for the maintenance and education of the child until he reaches the age of sixteen years; this order can stipulate that the necessary money be taken from a fund provided for such purpose by Parliament. The bill further provides that where paternity is admitted, the order can be obtained before birth to secure from the father payments toward the support of the mother before and at the time of the birth of the child. Another section of the bill corrects the present law in the matter of legitimization of children by subsequent marriage of the parents.

The National Council, which is backing this bill, includes among its members Sir Arthur Newsholme, who is at present at Johns Hopkins University in this country; the Lord Bishop of Birmingham, who visited America last year; Dr. Mary Scharlieb and Dr. C. W. Saleeby, eugenic authorities.

Mrs. Kate E. Trounson, secretary of the Council, recently wrote Miss Emma Lundberg, of the Federal Children's Bureau, concerning the fate of the bill:

"In spite of the Government being against us, we obtained the amazing vote of 117 to 9. The bill now goes into committee and it remains to be seen what action the Government will take.

"Needless to say we shall make a strenuous effort to keep to the policy laid down in the bill, that is, the equalization of responsibility between the parents * * *."

The Bill's Chief Backer

The person to whom is given chief credit for the success which the bill has so far attained is the chairman of the Council, Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher, wife of the British Minister of Education. Though Mrs. Fisher is one of the most active women in England and one of the most sought-after speakers, she is little known in this country, partly because she has never until now permitted herself to be interviewed. Margaret Walter, a correspondent for the Foreign Press Service, recently succeeded in interviewing Mrs. Fisher in her home in London. What she has to say is interesting not only because it throws light on a woman who is accomplishing so much, but because it offers one woman's suggestion for the solution of the problem which presses upon so many women today, the problem of combining home life and public life.

Interview by Margaret Walter of Foreign Press Service

Miss Walter's interview, which is printed here for the first time, follows:

"I don't know in the least," Mrs. Fisher frankly admitted, when I asked her how all her work began. "I have never stopped to look back. I have never sat down and thought about my past."

Here was a woman who is more sought after as a public speaker than any other in London, her articles in all the magazines, four appearing this month; never refusing time, money or influence to any of the causes she holds dear—free education, equal opportunity, child welfare, the rights of illegitimate babies, divorce reform, liquor control, better housing—yet never interviewed. In England this is possible.

Mrs. Fisher, who is still under 40, is the wife of the Minister of Education. Her father is an eminent London lawyer and Clerk of the House of Commons. She was educated at Somerville College, Oxford, and like all women of her generation denied a degree. Her specialty at college was history. She won a scholarship at the London School of Economics and after her marriage to Mr. Fisher, who was then a fellow and tutor of New College, Oxford, she continued her social research work.

It is no secret that the Education Act, the most advanced piece of general legislation enacted during the war, was largely inspired by Mrs. Fisher, and that the Bastardy Bill is Mrs. Fisher's bill. I asked her how, with all her other interests, she came to be identified with this ungrateful cause.

"I knew that I was no more busy than the other women working for reform, and I knew that unless we got people now, while everybody is still anxious to do the right thing by the victims of the war, we should never get any sort of a bill through."

Have Life and Public

"How about your own home and your family?" I ventured.

"Ah, that's always the test where a woman is concerned. You'd never ask a man that question, would you? Now-a-days especially, nearly every woman has got to decide which she will do, domestic or public work; it isn't many who can do both. It was different with the Victorians; in those spacious times women could have seven or a dozen children, and with seventeen nurses to look after them, still be free for outside enterprises. Now women have got to choose between families of their own or public work. I have one little girl with whom I spend all my week-ends and my holidays."

"Then she doesn't live here in town with you?" I asked.

One Solution

"No. I had to choose between the strain and unnatural conditions of city life for small children (mine is seven) and the joy of having her with me. I have chosen for the country, and my little girl lives down in Surrey, where I go to her every Friday and stay until Monday morning. We have figured it out we really have more of our little daughter than we should do if she were here, for when we go down to her we are with her all the time and we all look upon the time in town as merely an interval in our lives.

"Besides, my husband needs me here. I am always ready to help him, and he needs plenty of attention. Here again I think in reality we are more together than couples of the

older generation. We work together at home and play together in the country; we are only separated when special work calls us apart."

"Which work do you consider the more important, his or yours?" I could not help asking.

"We make no rule. Sometimes his, sometimes mine. But his work is really more important because his opportunities are greater. The chance of a man to help is now often greater than that of a woman, but it need not be so. That is part of what we have got to change. Women have got to have an equal chance. But with the chance comes the inexorable obligation to work. When the parasite women are abolished we shall not have other women so overburdened. Then all women will have more time for their families, time to spend in the wonderful new houses we are going to build, doing the useful and interesting things that are waiting to be done."

England's Morality

We drifted into morality. Did she, I asked, think the morals of England are corrupt?

"Of course not. Figures prove that they are not. Do you remember all the panic about the 'war babies'? Well, there weren't any. In the year that the panic occurred there were fewer illegitimate children born than for more than a decade. In 1917 illegitimate births fell to 37,000; in 1918 they rose to 41,000, and that is the highest they have ever got. That was the last year of the war after the 'war babies' scare had completely died down. You would almost think it had been suggestion.

"One thing our exhaustive investigation has proved and that is that the type of girl who becomes an unmarried mother is changing. There has always been the mental deficient, the girl who had her annual baby in the workhouse. She continues, to our shame. But the rest of the illegitimate babies are born to girls who under different conditions would become the best possible mothers, innocent, affectionate, healthy girls who are simply the victims of our conditions. When we have changed these there will not be any more unwanted babies."

"Just at this moment there is a strong tide of feeling against the further emancipation of women in England, just as there is a strong wave of anti-Americanism; but that is only the signal that calls intelligent people to greater efforts even at the sacrifice of their personal aims, and I for one am ready for the call, whatever it may entail."

"To an extent every political convention helps us understand women are potent in our changing world. They have discovered admirable ability in organization; they do not fear being idealists; they are masters of publicity; they are indefatigable in the pursuit of their aims."

Shailer Mathews.

"As to women poets in general. I should say that poetry is the male principle. Departures from this rule come under the head of sexual anomalies. George Eliot and George Sand are instances strictly to the point."

Michael Monahan.

Women in Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer.

The Wage-Earning Woman's Stake in Connecticut's Ratification

THERE are eight states which hold nearly 75 per cent of all the women engaged in manufacturing industries throughout the country, although the same states embrace less than 38 per cent of the country's total population. The states are New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Ohio and Illinois. All of them except Connecticut have ratified the Susan B. Anthony amendment. As the factory woman is the principal object of most of the restrictive and regulatory labor laws affecting women, women workers in all of these eight states have a special stake in ratification, but Connecticut has more at stake perhaps than all the other seven, for this state is the center of the metal-working industries where women entered into new occupations in great numbers during the war. Thousands upon thousands of Connecticut women who have acquired a footing in skilled work will be affected by the labor policies which will be put into effect in the immediate future, as well as by the administration of the laws now on the statute books. Furthermore, old employes and new employes alike in the metal working industries throughout the country will be affected by the success or failure of the labor policies which find legal expression in Connecticut.

Hinging on Faith in Ratification

Although only "ratification completed" will ensure adequate protection to the wage-earning woman, still, as predicted in this department early in the year, the imminence of final ratification of the Susan B. Anthony amendment is making itself felt in tangible results. In 1916, the first bill was introduced to establish a statutory federal agency, whose chief concern was to promote the welfare of wage-earning women. It is significant, however, that in order to get this bill introduced at all, it had to be called a "bill to create a Woman's Division," because the friends of the bill in both houses felt that it was necessary to avoid the "prevailing hostility against the creation of a Woman's 'Bureau' with the attendant expensive machinery and high-salaried administrative offices." Consequently, not only was the proposed agency called a "Division" instead of a "Bureau," but the administrative salaries were graded on the scale of division chiefs, though the work of the administrative official would have differed not at all from the work of bureau chiefs.

The entrance of this country into the war cut short the progress of this Woman's Division Bill after it had secured a favorable report from the Labor Committee of both Houses, but the demands of the war led to an administratively created Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

The approach of the 1920 campaign with the imminence of the complete ratification of the Anthony amendment was quite sufficient to dissipate after the signing of the armistice

the hostility in Congress to the creation of a Woman's Bureau, for that, with the machinery of a fully organized bureau is just what Congress has given the women of the country.

Furthermore, both Republican and Democratic platforms make special mention of the bureau, the one by commending Congress for its action in creating a Woman's Bureau, and by recognizing the fundamental fact that makes such a bureau necessary, namely, that women in industry have special problems which do not concern men, and which are treated most successfully by women; the other by urging adequate appropriations for the newly created bureau.

Each of the principal parties also has introduced into its platform other items of interest to women in industry. Limitation of hours of employment of women in products entering into interstate commerce, consideration of the "special aptitudes and needs of women workers" in federally-aided vocational schools, "women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women" in federal and state employment, representation of women on all Commissions dealing with women's work or interests, and equal pay for equal work regardless of sex in the federal service, are advocated by one or the other or both parties.

The influence of imminent ratification is likewise apparent in the consideration which the agencies of the Government are giving, not only to the wage earning woman, but to the woman in the home whose problems have not been considered worthy of the expenditure of any considerable part of the Government's time and money heretofore.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently rendered a much needed service in formulating a budget for a worker's family, not on the basis of what the families are actually expending, including in the averages the subnormal as well as the supernormal, but on the basis of expenditures for commodities recognized as essential to standards of healthful living. For example, the kind and quantities of food named in this budget are based on food budgets of a number of families that met scientific caloric standards. In determining the kind and amount of clothing needed, not only the physical needs of warmth, cleanliness and comfort were considered, but the appearance and style were likewise given attention.

Finally, and most significant of all, for the family of five, not only was allowance made for a house with parlor, dining-room, kitchen and two bedrooms, ranging in size from 8x10 to 10x12 feet, but in such cases the service of an outside helper for one day a week to assist the wife and mother was included in the budget. It is safe to say that a long search would be required to discover another instance where the Government reports took into consideration the labor performed by a wife and mother in caring for a family of five.

But all of this official recognition of women has come because of the general belief in the approach of final ratifi-

cation; without this belief we would be where we were a decade ago.

Full reports have not yet been published of the convention of federal and state government officials held in Seattle July 12 to 17, for the discussion of problems concerning women workers. The Women in Industry Bureau of the Department of Labor was represented by Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the bureau. One topic much discussed at the convention was the need of a common method of arriving at minimum wage rates in the several states. It was also expressed as the prevailing opinion of the convention that it is essential to the interest of women workers to have at least equal representation with men on public boards having power to determine standards of working conditions for women.

The Boston Trade School for Women and Girls has opened a course in box making. This action marks a distinct progress in vocational training for women as hitherto the Boston Trade School has confined its activities to dress-

making, millinery, the manufacture of clothing, and to catering. There may be a causal connection between this move on the part of the Boston Trade School and the recent action of the Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration in fixing \$15.50 per week as the minimum wage that should be paid to women with nine months' experience in the paper-box industry, the award to be effective July 1, 1920. Eleven dollars is fixed as the minimum for learners sixteen years and older, and \$9.00 as the minimum for younger apprentices. It is probable that these rates, which are higher than the paper-box industry has been paying, have helped to make manufacturers see the need for better trained workers.

An interesting experiment in Americanization work for women is being carried on at the Lowell Vocational School. While non-English speaking women are taking instruction in cooking, dressmaking and millinery from a vocational teacher, an Americanization teacher assists them in understanding the English terms used and the arithmetic of the dressmaking, cooking and millinery lessons.

THE CHANCE FOR RATIFICATION

(Continued from page 163)

"I am sure I need not point out to you the critical importance of the action of your great state in the matter of suffrage amendment."

Governor Bickett replied by letter to the President on June 28. He wrote:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your telegram in regard to the suffrage amendment. While the telegram does not seem to call for a reply, I deem it proper to say that on March 15, of this year, I gave to the press a statement that, while I was not personally impressed with either the wisdom or the necessity for woman suffrage in North Carolina, I recognized its coming as inevitable, and would advise the special session of our general assembly that the sensible and graceful thing to do would be to accept the inevitable and promptly ratify the amendment. This is still my purpose."

To local newspaper men the Governor said:

"We have neither the time nor the money. Action on the part of Tennessee would save this state the feeling of bitterness that would surely be engendered by debate on the subject if it came up in our legislature."

"I have said all I intend to say on the subject of ratification. While I will take my medicine, I will never swear that it tastes good, for it does not."

Republicans Answer "No"

The Republicans on their part control two states which so far have not acted on the amendment, Connecticut and Vermont.

Senator Harding's effort to secure a session in Vermont and its result is given in detail in a separate article.

The Republican nominee has refused to approach the Governor of Connecticut on behalf of a session. In answer to a telegram sent him by the Hartford Times, asking

whether he intended to advise Governor Holcomb to call a special session of the Connecticut legislature for ratification of the suffrage amendment wired on July 16, "I answer no."

It was announced from Brussels June 18, that a measure enabling women to be elected to parliament had been adopted by the chamber by 142 votes to 10.



My dear miss Paul
I cannot afford to send but
one dollar. because I am
only a very little girl and
live with mress Henshaw
and love suffragers
from
Mary Ellen Doyle

One of the Contributions that Count

University Women Unite

THE International Federation of University Women, formed to promote understanding and fellowship between educated women of different nations and to strengthen the foundations of international sympathy, held its first conference at Bedford College, London, July 7 to 9.

Delegates from sixteen countries attended. Eleven American colleges, and universities in Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Serbia, and South Africa sent representatives. There were also delegates from India, Australia and Uruguay.

Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College, N. Y., shares with Professor Caroline Spurgeon of Bedford College (the women's section of the University of London), the honor of founding the new international federation.

President M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr, and Dean Ada Comstock of Smith College, are members of the executive committee. Miss Jessica B. Peixotte of the University of California, Miss W. Norton Wheeler of Wellesley College, Professor Marion Whitney of Vassar, Miss Mary Leal Harkness of Parsons College, Tulane University, New Orleans, and Miss Virginia Newbomb of Barnard, are members of the international relations committee.

In her opening address Professor Spurgeon explained that the aims of the new federation were threefold: To make for international friendship; to help toward internationalism in education and knowledge; and to widen and enrich the idea of education generally.

The means by which these ends are to be accomplished, are the organization of a system of exchange lecturers and scholars of different universities; the provision of international scholarships and traveling fellowships, particularly the endowment of post-graduate and research scholarships; the establishment of clubs and hotels for international hospitality in the various centers of university life and co-operation with national bureaus of education in the different countries.

International Understanding Promoted

Already the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae and the British Federation of University Women are in close relationship aiding in the establishment of the new international federation. It is proposed that through it modern universities may regain the power and the prominence of the centers of learning of the middle ages and be able to carry on a continuous exchange of ideas and opportunities which will tend to promote international understanding which will make future wars impossible.

As the mothers and teachers of the young, Professor Spurgeon dwelt upon women's power to prevent war. She referred to the fact that in the United States 95 per cent

of the teachers are women and declared that this being so, women's ideals and women's power would dominate the future, and that it lay with the educated women of the world to so utilize their opportunities, their learning, that the whole world would benefit and that war would be an impossibility.

It was made clear that the federation is not designed to make all universities alike. The attitude of the federation was to rejoice in the difference, but to put it in the power of students of all countries to learn and to compare with the fullest possible advantages. And in this connection the question of language came up.

This is to be embodied in the constitution but the general inclination of the university women seems to be that all students should learn at least one language other than their own. What this language should be was not discussed.

The opinion was expressed at the conference that one of the first things the federation should accomplish was the rewriting of the world's text books. History retelling the past in a light which will not prejudice the present was held to be essential to international understanding, since it is in the minds of the young that the peace of the world will be secured.

Suffrage Planks

THE addition to the suffrage planks in the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties, strong planks endorsing the immediate ratification of the amendment were passed at the conventions both of the Prohibition Party and of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the National Woman's Party, attended the Prohibition Convention which met in Lincoln, Nebraska, on July 21st, and in conference with Virgil G. Hinshaw drew up the suffrage plank. Miss Emily Kay, of Minneapolis, represented the Woman's Party at the Farmer-Labor Convention, the convention of the Committee of Forty-eight and the World War Veterans convention held in Chicago at the same time.

A resolution was also passed by the Prohibition Convention urging all members of the Tennessee legislature to vote for the enfranchisement of women not only as an act of justice too long delayed, but because political power put in the hands of women would help to enforce laws safeguarding the welfare of the nation, the state, and the home.

The Farmers' National Council included the following suffrage plank among those it submitted to the Democratic National Convention:

That the platform include a strong appeal to governors of states which have not yet ratified the Federal suffrage amendment to immediately call their respective state legislatures in session for the purpose, to the end that American women may share in the decisions of the 1920 elections.

They Say

THIS word of praise for the beauty and spirit of the Woman's Party delegation to Senator Harding, in Marion, is found in "E. M. K.'s" story in the *New York Evening Post* of July 22:

"In its midst of the notification ceremonies, the demonstration of the Woman's Party was like a solemn, imposing, dignified appearance of crusaders, with a purpose.

"The long line of yellow and purple banners carried by women from many states was one of the best showings made during the day. Alice Paul was in the head of the line and following in single file up the street went old and young women carrying the heavy state standards. Many of them were those who had gone to Chicago and stood picketing in the wilting heat outside the Coliseum. But picketing Harding on this cool, breezy day under big trees and with bands 'bursting in air' every few feet was another thing and caused both the advancing army and the stormed fort and fortress to bow and bow again, to say pleasant words about suffrage and shake hands."

A tendency is shown, in a certain part of the press of the country, in line with Senator Harding's statement, that "he does not care whether a Democratic or Republican state gives the 36th ratification," to maintain that the suffrage question is not a political issue. The *Burlington Free Press*, of Vermont, on July 6, claims:

"It thus becomes fully evident that with both the leading political parties vigorously and unequivocally advocating political justice for women the matter has ceased to be a partisan issue, on the affirmative side. It is political now merely negatively or so far as any public servant representing any political party stands in the way of the consummation of this measure of justice for one-half the adult population of the United States."

How seriously the actions of "public servants, representing any political party" affect that party is evident in other editorial comments.



From Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, July 3

Knighthood is still in flower

The *Free Press* continues by quoting the *Newport Express-Standard*:

"Governor Clement has persistently side-stepped, ziggagged, hesitated, interpreted the Constitution against and persistently refused to call a special session of the legislature to act on the woman suffrage amendment. He has placed himself on record as standing side by side with those nullifiers of old—claiming 'state rights' were violated. He has turned aside the request of the large majority of the people of Vermont, who have repeatedly asked for a special session. Yet, behold, how he stumbleth!

"He sent to the Vermont delegation at Chicago the offer to call a special session if the national convention would favor a referendum. Is not this a case of political bargaining? Trading the State of Vermont for his own selfish viewpoint! In making this offer he has knocked away his last support in opposition to calling a special session. But, oh, how humiliating, how degrading that the Green Mountain State should be held up as a bribe in political bargaining! Governor Clement may have the courage of his convictions, but he shows a most regrettable attitude in

offering his authority as governor a bribe to gain his own desires."

The Lowell (Mass.) *Sun* does not blame the women for questioning the sincerity of party planks in the face of the delay of party officials. It says on July 1st:

"Leaders of the National Women's Party say that they intend to oppose the Republican nominee for the Presidency and that they will trail him on all his speaking trips, picket his meetings and ask embarrassing questions at every opportunity.

"All this is to be done despite the fact that the Republican platform contains a plank favorable to women suffrage. The reason the women propose to fight against Republican candidates is, that the leaders of the party have failed to bring to bear pressure on the Republican governors of the states of Vermont and Connecticut to call their legislatures in special session to ratify the suffrage amendment.

"The attitude of the women seems to be more or less justified. The legislatures of both states are known to be ready to ratify the amendment. They are prevented from doing so by the persistent refusal of the governors to permit the legislatures to act. Governor Holcomb of Connecticut is completely subservient to the wishes of the party leaders. In only lesser degree is Governor Clement known to be under their control.

"No one can blame the women for feeling that they have been handed a 'lemon' in the platform of a party whose leaders are not manifesting any very great amount of enthusiasm toward having the polls thrown open to them in November."

The Hartford (Conn.) *Times* of June 26th, wonders just how Senator Harding is going to get good news out of Connecticut or Vermont for the suffragists:

"Is Connecticut adamant to become malleable? Is Vermont granite to be made ductile?

"Interviewed by women who were endeavoring to ascertain whether he takes the suffrage plank in the Republican platform seriously, Senator Harding said that if any state executive should ask his opinion 'about extraordinary efforts to consummate suffrage' he would commend the thing the women desire, and added: 'I have a suspicion that the advice which might come with propriety will be sought.'

"Do you mean that you expect to have good news on the suffrage question?"

"Yes," he replied.

"Now, what 'good news' can there be on the suffrage question except the news that the governor of Vermont or the governor of Connecticut has decided to call a special session of the legislature to act on the nineteenth amendment?"

"Is Governor Holcomb inclined to construe the State Constitution more liberally? Is Governor Clement getting ready to answer the appeal of the men of his State that he call the busy farmers from the hayfields to give their wives, sweethearts and hired girls the privilege of voting. Verily, after all the demonstrations we have had of the adamant inflexibility of these state executives we would be knocked galleywest by a change in the attitude of either much as we hope for such a change.

"It must be the governor of Vermont that Mr. Harding has in mind, for surely the governor of Connecticut cannot be expected to reverse himself. Did not members of the Connecticut delegation to

the national convention complain that the original draft of the suffrage plank was an 'insult' to the governor of this State, and did not the harmony seeking resolutions committee make the legislatures of Vermont and Connecticut the 'goats' for the governors of these states when they revised the tentative plank?

"Far be it from Mr. Harding to attempt to force Governor Clement or Governor Holcomb to change their stand. Far be it from him to suggest anything unless the suggestion can be made 'with propriety.'

"Perhaps he expects Senator Brandegee to sit up with Governor Holcomb until 3 o'clock some morning as Brandegee declares he sat up with Harding in Chicago before the Connecticut delegation made up its mind to vote for the Ohio man, and prevail upon Governor Holcomb to change his mind."

The Cleveland (Ohio) *News* of June 25th, takes a new tack in defending the Republican Party:

"We would ask Republicans not to be offended by the attack of Miss Alice Paul or others of her kind, since these attentions are really compliments to the party. They signify not only that lady politicians are capable of learning things readily enough, but also that they have learned to expect help from Republicans rather than from Democrats."

The San Diego (Calif.) *Tribune* of July 6th, points out a possible reason for the delay in the suffrage amendment:

"The suffragists, for some reason not definitely explained, have not been as fortunate in forcing their constitutional amendment upon the people as were the prohibitionists. Perhaps they were more credulous of the popularity of their cause than were the leaders of the anti-saloon party; perhaps they took too much for granted in their political maneuvering. The prohibitionists, after half a century of 'moral suasion' resolved to force the issue in the forthright fashion of practical politics.

"The women, therefore, probably have learned from this object lesson in American politics that it is extremely difficult to do anything in American politics unless everybody concerned is a voter—prohibition was carried by the ballots of men and women; suffrage did not have even the total woman power of the nation."

Of the legal attempts against the amendment the Ohio *State Journal*, of July 10, says:

Legal Attacks on Suffrage Amendment

"That legal questions have been raised in court by those who are opposed to equal suffrage need surprise no one. They were to be expected. Others may be raised, other contests forced. History is but repeating itself when these suits appear. They may serve to annoy and distress the enthusiastic advocates of the new reform, but the worst they can do is to delay the final result. Equal suffrage is inevitable in this country. The 36th state will be found, will ratify, the women will have the right to vote.

"Constitutional questions are easy to raise, much easier to raise than to support by convincing arguments when tested in court. Other advance steps in this land have met the constitutional lawyer, have been halted by the questions raised, have been annoyed and put to much extra work and labor in meeting them, but the forward-looking movements ultimately win. They meet delay, not defeat. It



Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, July 13.

Can't quite button it up!



Ohio State Journal, July 12.

Hesitating Heroes



From Denver Post, June 24.

Ol' Pussyfoot: "Say, Professor, is there anything we ARE FOR?"

will be so with suffrage. The noisy objections are not supported by public sentiment."

Militants Get Credit

In an interview in the *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, Mrs. Champ Clark gives credit where she feels that credit is due for the progress of the suffrage amendment.

"If I were asked to name one woman who has done the most to advance suffrage in recent years," said Mrs. Clark, "I would have to choose between Mrs. Wadsworth, the wife of Senator Wadsworth, and Miss Alice Paul. Each one has assisted in a peculiar way along contrary methods to attract attention. That was all that was necessary, for when one stops, looks and listens to arguments for or against suffrage, the audience usually decides for the amendment, and 'where the vanguard halts today the rear will halt tomorrow.'"

Meanwhile the columnist of the Buffalo *Enquirer* takes this free fling at Alice Paul:

"Miss Alice Paul will never sigh for more worlds to picket. She can always find one."

The Democrats will get the credit of giving suffrage to women, according to Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts quoted in the *Chicago Tribune* of June 25, in a special dispatch from a train en route to San Francisco.

"North Carolina will ratify in August, he announced. That will give the Democrats much of the credit. That state would 'put national suffrage over.'"

"The militants did it," announced Charles F. Campbell, an attorney and associate of Mr. Walsh, accompanying him to the coast.

"It wasn't the quiet work, as so many of the women believe, got them their start in suffrage. It was the pickets who made life miserable for those who refused to see things their way," Mr. Campbell said.

"If those who want a wet plank in the platform at San

San Francisco sat down and quietly talked it over with some one, what would they get? They would get exactly nothing. The men at Washington are human and don't want to admit they were forced to give woman the vote. They say the women who spoke quietly influenced them. The truth is the pickets forced them."—*Chicago Tribune*, June 25, 1920.

One Kind of Fame

Governor Percival W. Clement in issuing a proclamation refusing to call a special session of the state legislature to vote on the federal suffrage amendment, has done just about what it was expected he would do. His argument for not calling the session is based upon the pretext that the amendment conflicts with the constitution of the State of Vermont. What a flimsy pretense this is! The great men who founded our government provided certain means whereby changes to the constitution might be made. The country goes on, in its progress, and from time to time certain amendments to the constitution are made and no one thinks but what they are legal and right. Then comes the proposed 18th amendment and it is ratified by the number of states necessary to make it a part of the constitution. And then what happens? There is the beginning of a howl that is heard all over the country from the liquor interests and those who are against prohibition. Governor Clement now applies this hue and cry in his own manner to the federal suffrage amendment and despairs of the constitution of the United States which, he alleges, "threatens the foundation of free popular government." Governor Clement, as a short-sighted executive, has no equal in the long list of men who have been governors of the Green Mountain state. If he can take any pride in it, Governor Clement ought to be proud of his back-door entrance into the halls of history.—*Burlington (Vermont) Daily Free Press*, July 13.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

Sisters All

ALICE CLARK has reproduced for us in her pages* something of the daily life of women during the period that preceded our modern machine-driven existence. She chose the seventeenth century, she tells us, because it forms a sort of watershed between two very widely different eras in the history of English women, the Elizabethan age and the eighteenth century. Although her book adheres closely to its title, she bids us observe that the productive activity described was not the work of women who were separated from the companionship of married life and the joys and responsibilities of motherhood.

It would be futile for a review to use up too many words in mere empty approbation of a piece of original

work extremely well executed and told in most interesting fashion. Miss Clark shall speak for herself, and her story be in part summed up.

She shows us at the height of their development, existing together and merging into one another, domestic industry and family industry, along with the beginnings of the modern industrial or capitalistic system.

In domestic industry the goods produced were for exclusive use of the family, and therefore not subject to any money or exchange value.

In family industry the family was the unit for the production of goods to be sold or exchanged.

In the industrialism then as now controlled by the owners of the capital, the laborers or producers, men, women and children received individual wages.

Under either of the first two women's economic independence was more or less secured, for the profits of

*THE WORKING LIFE OF WOMEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Alice Clark. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. New York, 1920.

her productivity, whether exercised in growing crops, in dairying, or in spinning or in weaving cloth for garments, or in any other channel, remained within the family, of which she was a member, and a real partner in the common earnings.

"In this family organization, all that the father gained was shared by the mother and children, because his whole life, or almost his whole life, was shared by them. This is especially marked in the economic side of existence, where the father did not merely earn money and hand it over to the mother to spend, but secured for her also access to the means of production; the specialized training acquired by the man did not merely enable him to earn high wages, but conferred on his wife the right to work as far as she was able in that trade."

"In the seventeenth century, the idea is seldom encountered that a man supports his wife. Husband and wife were then mutually dependent, and together supported their children. At the back of people's minds an instinctive feeling prevailed that the father furnished rent, shelter and protection, while the mother furnished food" (from the yard-land).

Speaking of rich women, they managed large households, which were mainly self-supporting, while they often went further, and engaged in extensive trade, along with their husbands, on their own account.

"The effect of such work on the development of women's characters was very great, for any sort of productive, that is to say, creative work, provides a discipline and stimulus to growth, essentially different from any that can be acquired in a life devoted to spending money, and the cultivation of ornamental qualities. . . . The effect on social relations was also marked for their work implied an association of men and women through a wide range of human interest."

But a change came over this entire system. Production for the profit of outside capitalists produced in time these results:

Among the rich the energy and hardiness of the Elizabethan ladies gave way before the idleness and pursuit of pleasure, which characterized the restoration.

In the textile trades, spinning by women and children dropped to the value of a pin-money occupation, as the husband and father more and more went to work outside of his own home and shop. The wife, tied to home by her children, could not follow him out into the world, and gradually lost her earning capacity.

But in agriculture, the situation was tragic indeed. As access to land was lost, the laboring husband went to work for wages for the farmers, neighboring and at a distance, and his food was provided by his employer. The wife, deprived of her old-time opportunity of growing the food for the family, was driven to take any work she could get, at a pitifully low wage. The records show innumerable cases where she and her children were reduced to destitution, the husband, unable to support them on his wages, which were calculated at not much more than a single man's, often deserting his family. Sickneess, and consequent increasing inefficiency, were rife

among these poor women, and the children in vast numbers, died of starvation. The magistrates meanwhile were at their wits end how to cope with this increasing mass of poverty, and were continually hounding these pauper women from one parish to another.

As for the professions, what happened to women is well illustrated by the account of the changes occurring in that of midwifery. With the establishment of something like a scientific basis for all branches of the medical profession, women were little by little pushed out of an occupation which from time immemorial had been their special field of service to their own sex. Although some brave women, and some generous men, knowing that the suffering and in many cases the death of vast numbers of women and babies who must always depend on the skill of midwives were involved, endeavored to secure proper training and licensing for them, it was all in vain. To such an unequal struggle there could be for the time but one end. With their advantages of study in medical schools, of direct instruction and apprenticeship, the male midwives won out. "The interest of the corporations of physicians was centered more upon their profession than upon the general well-being of the community, and they did not regard it as a part of their duty to secure competent assistance in childbirth for every woman in the community."

There is a lesson for ourselves here. More and more it is becoming evident, as women dive into history and unearth essential facts overlooked before, relevant to women's position, that every tremendous social and economic change is fraught with huge possibilities of danger to women—with gigantic opportunities, possibly, when she is wise and far-seeing enough to make use of them—but certainly with grave risks. "The industrial revolution did not involve a conscious demarcation of the respective spheres of men and women in industry. Its results were accidental, due to the fact that women were forgotten, and so no attempt was made to adjust their training and social status to the necessities of the new economic organization."

We, too, at this moment, are involved in the toils of cataclysmic change. It is of most urgent consequence that we study what is happening and while adapting ourselves, where needful, to changing circumstances, let us also, where needful, see to it that circumstances are modified to suit women. So that it shall not be written of this generation, by some historian of the future, "The women were forgotten!"

That we have this book at all, is owing to the wisdom of Mrs. Bernard Shaw, who is donor of the Shaw Research Fellowship at the London School of Economics, to assist "those who wish to devote themselves to the investigation of women's historic past."

Kate O'Hare's "**Prison Letters**"* make a story at once humbling and inspiring. More, they are good literature. They have the unforgettable character impressed upon all writing where thought and emotion flow easily and

*KATE O'HARE'S PRISON LETTERS. Appeal to Reason Press. Girard, Kansas. 1920.

directly through the channels of language. The exquisiteness of her messages to her children; her upspringing humor, when her husband makes some small error in his shopping; how she remembers that Dickie can be trusted to hunt for a missing garment at home show one side. Then there is her eagerness to bring happiness, or at least the assuagement of misery to these poor sisters who were her fellow prisoners. They long for a bit of candy or a sup of jam after the long years of monotonous prison food, and she distributes it from the supplies that she often begged her friends would send (to her).

It is perfectly clear that there is need for a woman movement in every prison, as well as outside it. Mrs. O'Hare writes of one criticism on prison conditions, "How characteristic that 'The Survey' should be concerned about the men, yet not have one spark of interest in the women. You know I have never been a particularly rampant feminist; I have always felt that the 'woman question' was only a part of the great 'social problem,' but my two months here have changed my views materially, and I know now, as never before, that 'women bear the heaviest burdens, and walk' the roughest road,' and that this is true in all walks of life, and becomes more damnably true as you descend the social scale."

Some of the deprivations are so unnecessary. "There are eighty girls here, and there is not a book, magazine or particle of reading matter supplied to the women." . . . (not even the Bible). There is not a place in all the world where there are such opportunities for kindly humane Christian service as here. Yet not a woman's club, or the women of one church have ever shown one gleam of interest in this institution."

Mrs. O'Hare is now at liberty. Let us hope that nothing will be allowed to delay her in writing the book which seems to be in her mind based on her psychological studies of her companions in imprisonment.

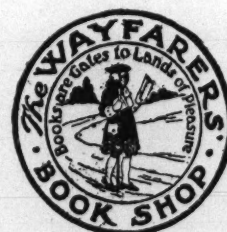
It is a little difficult to understand just what Robert Grant, whose name most people associate with his best known novel, "Unleavened Bread," set out to do when he wrote "**The Law and the Family.**"* In the chapters which deal with domestic relations, he shows unmistakably that he is on familiar ground, and he expresses very human and un-lawyer like sympathy with many varying types who seem to have come before him in his professional capacity as Judge of the Probate Court in Boston. He disapproves of the lax administration, under which, in offenses against chastity, "the woman continues to be haled into court, while the man slips through the net in which they both were taken." And he asks, "How is the family to be preserved? Not surely by perpetuating the already challenged code of secrecy, which conceals from wives the ailments of their husbands in the name of professional honor, instead of segregating or ear-marking all afflicted with the virulent poison that makes the glory of maternity a curse?" He has wise and

***LAW AND THE FAMILY.** Robert Grant. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1919.

thoughtful criticisms on how we may all be educated up to something like legal consistency on marriage and divorce, instead of forever submitting to what he styles "our national crazy-quilt legislation, relative to all that bears on matrimony."

That is his practical side. As for his philosophy, that is a less well-rounded and more theoretical affair. He cannot be following the woman movement very closely, or he would hardly turn to "Ann Veronica" as "the new woman." Ann Veronica! Why, she fluttered across the novel reader's path so many springs ago that she is unknown to the younger generation, and quite forgotten by the old.

There was much indignation expressed among women readers, when the late Benjamin Kidd's "**Science of Power**" first came out in its American dress, over the Introduction by Professor Franklin Giddings, which was utterly inappropriate and out of keeping with either the spirit or the philosophy of the book itself. Protests elicited a promise, I am told, from the publishers, that it would be omitted in future editions. It is, therefore, cause for both satisfaction and amusement to note that the fourth impression, which is now on the book market carries no introduction.



Suggested by

The Wayfarer's Bookshop, 1623 H St. N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

- WOMAN, A Novel, by Magdeleine Marx; Scott & Seltzer, N. Y. C. 1920, \$2.00.
- THE HALL WITH DOORS, by Louise Hasbrouck, Woman's Press, N. Y. C. 1920, \$1.50.
- A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW, Some Roads to Peace, by Harriot Stanton Blatch; Woman's Press, N. Y. C. 1920 (Announced for the autumn).
- WOMEN'S WILD OATS, The present relationships of women and the outlook for the future, by C. Gasquoine Hartley; Fred Stokes Co., N. Y. C. 1920, \$1.50.
- MRS. GLADSTONE, A Biography, by her daughter, Mary Gladstone Drew; Putnam's Sons, N. Y. C. 1920.
- WOMAN, by William J. Robinson; Modern Book Co., N. Y. C. 1920, \$3.50.
- THE SUPERSTITION OF DIVORCE, by G. K. Chesterton; John Lane & Co., N. Y. C., \$1.50.
- THE ANATOMY OF SOCIETY, Dealing with the Social Contract, Marriage, and Women as Citizens, by Gilbert Cannon; E. P. Dutton Co., N. Y. C., 1920, \$2.00.
- 26 JAYNE STREET, by Mary Austin; Houghton & Mifflin Co., N. Y. C. 1920. Just out. \$2.00.

Congressional District Chairmen

(Officers of the Woman's Party, continued from inside cover page)

California

- 1st—Mrs. Johnathan Webb (acting)
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- 2d—Mrs. M. D. Tillotson
415 Court St., Redding
- 6th—Mrs. W. R. Briggs
2530 Piedmont Ave., Berkeley
- 7th—Mrs. Geo. Taylor
248 N. Van Ness Ave., Fresno
- 8th—Dr. Ida Stambach
20 West Victoria St., Santa Barbara
- 11th—Mrs. Vernon Voorhees Rood
4171 Ibis St., San Diego

Colorado

- 1st—Dr. Margaret Long
226 Metropolitan Bldg., Denver
- 3d—Miss Mary Wright Hopkins
2915 High Street, Pueblo
- 4th—Mrs. H. W. Norgaard
545 Grand Ave., Grand Junction

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22 Forest St., Hartford
- 2d—Mrs. Walter Bartlett, Putnam
- 3d—Mrs. David S. Rivkin
432 Whalley Ave., New Haven

Delaware

- Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
4014 Dupont Bldg., Wilmington

Florida

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- 3d—Mrs. C. A. Cay
446 No. Monroe St., Tallahassee
- 4th—Miss Helen Hunt
419 West Church St., Jacksonville

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- 8th—Mrs. A. F. Archer, Elberton
- 9th—Mrs. W. I. Hobbs, Gainesville

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- 2d—Mrs. A. B. Lucas, Eden

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- 2d—Mrs. William Henkle
5822 Blackstone Ave., Chicago
- 3d—Mrs. Freeman Brown
7019 Yale Ave., Chicago
- 6th—Mrs. Robert L. McCall
4714 Washington Blvd., Chicago
- 7th—Miss Elizabeth Robertson
3129 Fulton St., Chicago
- 9th—Mrs. Samuel Adams
33 Bellevue Pl., Chicago
- 10th—Mrs. Mildred Gapen Bowen
1600 Monroe Bldg., Chicago
- 11th—Mrs. Thomas Lewis Powell
64 Monroe St., Hinsdale
- 13th—Mrs. Blanche E. Howe
Freeport
- 16th—Mrs. Leslie Rutherford, Peoria
- 17th—Mrs. Davis Ewing
1552 E. Olive St., Bloomington
- 18th—Miss Mary Gallagher
Brown's Business College,
Kankakee
- 19th—Mrs. Myrtle Mann Gillet
806 S. 3d St., Champaign
- 21st—Miss Harriett Reid
Box 72, Springfield

Indiana

- 6th—Miss Eya Gough
Box 205, Newcastle
- 7th—Mrs. Walter Wise
2958 Paris Ave., Indianapolis

Iowa

- 9th—Mrs. Anne Haslett Jenks, Avoca
- 11th—Mrs. D. L. Cassady
1301 Court St., Sioux City

Kansas

- 1st—Mrs. Helen J. Montgomery
1116 Tyler St., Topeka
- 4th—Mrs. J. H. Wiggam, Emporia
- 5th—Mrs. Blanche C. Winters
Manhattan
- 7th—Mrs. E. C. Durand
Durand Plantation, Hutchinson
- 8th—Mrs. A. S. Birkhead, Wichita

Louisiana

- 1st—Mrs. Alice Cosu
831 Bourbon St., New Orleans
- 2d—Miss Grace Drumm
- 4th—Mrs. May P. Comegys
2300 Line Ave., Shreveport
- 7th—Mrs. A. A. Anding, Opelousas

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- 1st—Mrs. R. T. Whitehouse
108 Vaughan Street, Portland
- 4th—Miss Bladys N. Niles
56 Madison St., Bangor

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- 2d—Mrs. Edward L. Graham
Ellicott City
- 4th—Mrs. Elizabeth Dixon Cranford
St. Paul Apartments, Baltimore
- 5th—Mrs. Wm. P. Hill
Annapolis, Md.
- 6th—Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke
Chevy Chase, Md.

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31 Amherst Ave., Holyoke
- 2d—Miss Christine Lewis
101 Dartmouth St., Springfield
- 4th—Miss Camilla G. Whitcomb
35 Oxford Street, Worcester
- 5th—Mrs. John Morrison Birdsall
Andover
- 6th—Mrs. Walter F. Sayward
14 Greenleaf St., Bradford
- 7th—Miss Eleanor Calnan
3 Merrill St., Methuen
- 10th—Miss Berry Pottier
1111 Boylston St., Boston
- 11th—Mrs. Alice W. Movius, Millis
- 12th—Mrs. Walter A. Buckley
32 Hartford St., Dorchester
- 13th—Mrs. Thos. H. Gray
22 Kennard Road, Brookline
- 14th—Mrs. Stephen Chase, Dedham
- 16th—Miss Elizabeth F. Delano
91 Pleasant St., Fairhaven

Michigan

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15 Owen Ave., Detroit
- 2d—Mrs. Ada Mumford, Adrian
- 3d—Mrs. Herbert Statler
445 W. Main St., Kalamazoo
- 4th—Miss Jessie Ullrey, Niles
- 5th—Mrs. W. K. Morley
1415 Milton St., S. E.
Grand Rapids
- 6th—Miss Ella L. Smith, Pontiac
- 9th—Mrs. Fred J. Howden
191 Clay Avenue, Muskegon
- 10th—Mrs. G. B. Jennison
406 Farragut St., Bay City
- 11th—Mrs. C. F. Erwin
Harbor Springs
- 12th—Mrs. Helen Viering, Marquette
- 13th—Mrs. Geo. I. Grimes
371 Virginia Park, Detroit

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406 Mariner's Lane, Albert Lea
- 2d—Mrs. W. J. Morehart, Mankato
- 3d—Mrs. E. H. Loyhed, Faribault
- 4th—Mrs. G. O. House
683 Portland Ave., St. Paul
- 5th—Mrs. E. Dana Durand
915 6th St. S. E., Minneapolis
- 7th—Mrs. A. W. Winter
Granite Falls
- 9th—Mrs. W. A. Marin
121 E. 7th St., Crookston
- 10th—Mrs. W. T. Coe, Mayzata

Missouri

- 5th—Mrs. Thomas S. McMillen
3810 Terrace Ave., Kansas City

Montana

- Miss Gwendolyn Haste, Billings

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- 1st—Mrs. Gladstone Jordan
697 Pine St., Manchester
- 2d—Mrs. Walter Lang
212 Ray St., Manchester

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- 1st—Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley
35 West Maple, Merchantville Ave.
- 2d—Mrs. Caroline Barnes Wilson
521 Landis Avenue, Vineland

3d—Mrs. Frank A. Pattison

- Colonial
- 4th—Miss Sara T. Pollock
R. F. D. No. 4, Lawrence Road
Trenton
- 5th—Mrs. M. Washington, Summit
- 7th—Mrs. Joseph P. Stiner
24 Washington Ave., Clifton
- 8th—Mrs. C. D. Karr
822 De Graw Ave., Newark
- 9th—Mrs. Charles W. Fisk
67 Prospect St., East Orange
- 10th—Mrs. Morris B. Mead
57 Ralston Ave., So. Orange
- 11th—Miss Helen Herbert
1206 Hudson St., Hoboken

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4 E. 94th St., N. Y. City
- 20th—Miss Lucy Eastman
4 E. 70th St., N. Y. City
- 22d and 23d—Miss Anna Constable
121 E. 76th St.
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Patterson, Putnam Co.
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Castle Hill, Monticello
- 29th—Mrs. G. W. Cook
230 S. 2d St., Mechanicsville
- 30th—Mrs. E. E. Hale
Union College, Schenectady
- 31st—Mrs. R. Paddock
323 E. Main St., Malone
- 32d—Dr. Harriet Doane, Fulton
- 33d—Mrs. Isabella De Angelis
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Mutual Security Bldg., Binghamton
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Upland Farm, Syracuse
- 36th—Mrs. Milton Sanderson
32 State St., Seneca Falls
- 37th—Mrs. Laura Collins, Harnell
- 38th and 39th—Mrs. Mary Ertz Will
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410 Bird Ave., Buffalo
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519 Central Ave., Dunkirk

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3637 Alaska Ave., Cincinnati
- 2d—Mrs. G. B. Twitchell
845 Dayton St., Cincinnati
- 3d—Mrs. Frank R. Henry
374 West First Street, Dayton
- 7th—Mrs. George Dial
307 E. High St., Springfield
- 12th—Miss Mary Brandon
1220 Madison Ave., Columbus
- 21st—Mrs. Royce D. Fry
Care Dr. Fry, 869 Rose Building,
Cleveland
- 22d—Miss Gertrude C. McLeland
West Mentor, Cleveland Heights

Oklahoma

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Care of Empire Refineries, Tulsa
- 5th—Mrs. Miriam Oatman Blachly
512 University Blvd., Norman

Oregon

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1355 State St., Salem
- 2d—Mrs. Stephen A. Lowell
Box 436, Pendleton

Pennsylvania

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1316 S. 5th St., Philadelphia
- 2d—Miss Fanny Travis Cochran
131 S. 22d St., Philadelphia
- 3d—Mrs. D. S. Zelmanoff
220 Vine St., Philadelphia
- 4th—Mrs. Mary Mallock Greenwalt
1424 Master St., Philadelphia
- 5th—Mrs. Eleanor B. Arrison
1508 Oxford St., Philadelphia
- 6th—Mrs. Archibald R. Harmon
5247 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia
- 8th—Miss Lewellyn M. Clinton
Wyncote
- 11th—Miss Laura Stull,
Stoddardsville
- 12th—Miss Joan L. Brumm
509 Front St., Minersville
- 16th—Miss Mary Stecker, Milton

- 17th—Mrs. Grace G. Kempter
Chambersburg
- 18th—Mrs. Mabel Cronise Jones
105 Locust St., Harrisburg
- 29th—Mrs. A. M. Peterson
56 Grant Ave., Bellevue
- 30th—Miss Lois Rankin
5712 Baum Blvd., Pittsburgh

Rhode Island

- 3d—Mrs. W. Maxwell Reed
389 Blackstone St., Woonsocket

South Carolina

- 1st—Miss Susan P. Frost
57 Broad St., Charleston
- 4th—Miss R. P. Webster, Greenville
- 7th—Mrs. Norman H. Bull,
Orangeburg

South Dakota

- 1st—Mrs. Frank Weller
408 4th Ave., Mitchell
- 2d—Mrs. J. E. Bird
Care of Nat'l Sunshine Society
Watertown

Tennessee

- 1st—Mrs. R. B. Cook
Soldiers' Home, Johnston City
- 2d—Mrs. M. L. Dane
561 Margrave St., Harriman
- 4th—Mrs. Prudence Dresser, Gallatin
- 10th—Mrs. Isaac Reese
510 Vance Avenue, Memphis

Texas

- 4th—Miss Irene Nevill, Bonham
- 8th—Mrs. C. A. Teagle
405 Hathaway Ave., Houston
- 9th—Mrs. J. H. Smith, Yoakum
- 10th—Mrs. J. F. Pearce
2607 University Ave., Austin
- 12th—Mrs. C. G. Staats,
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- 14th—Mrs. Rena Maverick Green
324 Ogden St., San Antonio
- 16th—Mrs. Charles DeGroof
Hotel Orndorff, El Paso

Vermont

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- 2nd—Mrs. Robert Bliss, Montpelier

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Newport News
- 2d—Mrs. Pauline Adams
601 Colonial Ave., Norfolk
- 3d—Mrs. R. F. Hudson
1107 West Ave., Richmond
- 4th—Mrs. Y. T. Snyder
438 N. Washington St., Petersburg
- 5th—Miss Florence Pennybaker
Virginia
- 6th—Mrs. Dexter Otey
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- 8th—Mrs. Henry Lockwood
Clarendon
- 9th—Mrs. Chas. Bondurant
St. Charles
- 10th—Mrs. Anna Jones, Appomattox

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- 3d—Mrs. William P. Trowbridge
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Morgantown

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- 1st—Mrs. Kate Richardson
Box 832, Milton
- 2d—Mrs. Cora Weutheick
1511 S. 8th St., Sheboygan
- 3d—Mrs. H. V. Thompson
Richland Center
- 4th—5th—Mrs. Bertha Hansen
Trompeter
- 3000 Grand Ave., Milwaukee
- 6th—Miss Sarah James
96 High St., Oshkosh
- 8th—Mrs. George B. Atwell
1016 Clark St., Stevens Point
- 9th—Mrs. A. V. Martineau, Oconto
- 10th—Miss Mary Burt Messer
Stout Institute, Menominee
- 11th—Mrs. H. V. Hawley
Grantsburg

History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted

By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.
May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified the Amendment

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

				VOTE	
	Gov.	Legis.		Senate	House
1 Wisconsin.....	R	R	June 10	24-1	54-2
2 *Michigan.....	R	R	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3 *Kansas.....	R	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4 *Ohio.....	D	R	June 16	27-3	73-6
5 *New York.....	D	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6 Illinois.....	R	R	June 17	Unan.	133-4
7 Pennsylvania.....	R	R	June 24	32-6	153-44
8 Massachusetts.....	R	R	June 25	34-5	184-77
9 *Texas.....	D	D	June 29	Unan.	96-21
10 *Iowa.....	R	R	July 2	Unan.	95-5
11 *Missouri.....	D	Div'd.	July 3	28-3	125-4
12 *Arkansas.....	D	D	July 20	20-2	76-17
13 *Montana.....	D	R	July 30	38-1	Unan.
14 *Nebraska.....	R	R	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15 *Minnesota.....	R	R	Sept. 8	60-5	120-6
16 *New Hampshire.....	R	R	Sept. 10	14-10	212-143
17 *Utah.....	D	D	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
18 *California.....	R	R	Nov. 1	Unan.	73-2
19 *Maine.....	R	R	Nov. 5	24-5	72-68
20 *North Dakota.....	R	R	Dec. 1	38-4	103-6
21 *South Dakota.....	R	R	Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22 *Colorado.....	R	R	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
23 Rhode Island.....	R	R	Jan. 6	37-1	89-3
24 Kentucky.....	R	Div'd.	Jan. 6	30-8	72-25
25 *Oregon.....	R	R	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26 *Indiana.....	R	R	Jan. 16	43-3	Unan.
27 *Wyoming.....	R	R	Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28 *Nevada.....	D	Div'd.	Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29 New Jersey.....	D	R	Feb. 10	18-2	34-24
30 *Idaho.....	R	R	Feb. 11	29-6	Unan.
31 *Arizona.....	R	D	Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32 *New Mexico.....	R	R	Feb. 19	17-5	36-10
33 *Oklahoma.....	D	D	Feb. 27		
34 *West Virginia.....	D	R	March 10	15-14	47-40
35 *Washington.....	R	R	March 22	Unan.	Unan.

Now in Regular Session

Louisiana..... D D Met May 10, 1920.
Georgia..... D D " June 23, 1920.

States Which Have Defeated the Amendment

				VOTE	
	Gov.	Legis.		Senate	House
1 Alabama.....	D	D	Sept. 2	18-13	No vote
2 Georgia.....	D	D	July 24	39-8	118-20
3 Mississippi.....	D	D	Jan. 21	23-22(For)	96-23
4 South Carolina.....	D	D	Jan. 24	No vote	93-21
5 Virginia.....	D	D	Feb. 12	24-10	62-22
6 Maryland.....	D	D	Feb. 17	18-9	64-36
7 Delaware.....	R	R	June 3	11-6 (For)	24-10
8 Louisiana.....	D	D	June 15	23-19	67-44

States Which Have Not Acted

				Gov. Legis.	
1 Connecticut.....	R	R		No regular session this year.	
2 Vermont.....	R	R		No regular session this year.	
3 North Carolina.....	D	D		Special session August, 10.	
4 Florida.....	D	D		No regular session this year.	
5 Tennessee.....	D	D		Special session August 9.	